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KVITSINSKIY: U.S. BROKE OFF ARMS DIALOGUE

LD181043 Moscow World Service in English 1000 GMT 18 Jan 84

[Text] Ambassador Yuliy Kvitsinskiy, who headed the Soviet delegation to the Geneva talks on reducing nuclear arms in Europe, has stated that the dialogue was broken off by the United States. In an interview for the newspaper MOSCOW NEWS he pointed to the readiness of the Soviet Union, repeatedly expressed in Geneva, for a large-scale reduction of nuclear weapons in Europe. The United States, however, has not sought and does not seek an honest agreement on reducing those weapons. It led [as heard] things to the actual disarmament of the Soviet Union and sought only one thing -- that is, to deploy its new nuclear missiles on the continent targeted at the Soviet Union -- and when the deployment of the missiles began, the talks were undermined.

USSR OFFICIALS COMMENT ON ARMS TALKS, ANDROPOV

PM171445 Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 14 Jan 84 p 2

[Felix Bayon and Pilar Bonet dispatch: "Moscow Believes That If USSR Makes Concessions It Will Help Ronald Reagan To Win Election"]

[Text] Moscow -- "We are not prepared to help Ronald Reagan win the election by making concessions on disarmament," an influential member of the CPSU Central Committee has told EL PAIS. For his part, another senior official expressed his pessimism about the possibility of progress in relations between Washington and Moscow being achieved before next November's presidential election.

This skepticism coincides with that of Western diplomats in Moscow, who, in light of what has recently been published in the Soviet press, regard as virtually impossible any progress at the imminent Stockholm Conference on Disarmament in Europe, whose opening will be attended by USSR Foreign Minister Adnrey Gromyko, who will meet in the Swedish capital with various Western counterparts, including his U.S. counterpart, George Shultz.

Concerning the Stockholm conference, the Soviet official sources consulted by EL PAIS confined themselves to stating unenthusiastically that this forum is only "a logical consequence of the Madrid CSCE session," but, that, at any event, it constitutes "an avenue of dialogue."

Various Soviet sources were emphatic in asserting that an agreement is impossible as long as Ronald Reagan remains in the White House. "Although the opinion polls are favorable to him at present, many things could happen between now and November," one of these sources specified.

Only in the event -- regarded as highly unlikely by the Soviets -- of the United States showing its readiness to withdraw the Euromissiles would the Kremlin send its diplomats back to the Geneva disarmament negotiations, according to an influential Soviet journalist.

Submarines Day and Night

"The United States recently detected a Soviet submarine near its coasts. This forms part of our response to the Euromissiles. Day and night, uninterruptedly, we will keep our submarines there in order to have U.S. territory within range. In this way, our missiles would reach the United States in the same brief space of time -- only a few minutes -- that the Euromissiles take to reach the USSR," a Central Committee member stated.

Referring to the hypothesis that the SS-20's are aimed at various targets located on Spanish territory, the same source added that "our missiles are only targeted on those countries which have nuclear weapons, just as we have pledged in the past. Spain need not worry, insofar as it is in a position to guarantee that it does not have this kind of weapon at the foreign military installations which it has on its soil."

"I often talk with Yuriy Andropov on the telephone, and I recently spoke with him for 1 and 1/2 hours, although our appointment was scheduled for only 1 hour. He is sick, but he is still working hard and with his characteristic vigor and mental clarity. Although he has not appeared in public, he is not in bed. Some of his closest colleagues have told me that he could reappear in about 2 weeks' time. Of course, one of his aides, not one of his doctors, told me this," a senior Soviet official stated.

This same official enlarged on the official thesis of a cold -- the only explanation given for Andropov's almost 5-month absence: "He is suffering from Krup's syndrome [as published] -- a very common form of influenza which sometimes gives rise to complications in the lungs and in the kidneys, although I do not know whether these complications have occurred in his case."

SS-20'S REPORTEDLY BEING DEPLOYED IN BALTIC AREA

PM171725 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 17 Jan 84 p 5

[Julian Isherwood dispatch: "Russia 'Installing SS-20 Missiles in Baltic States'"]

[Text] Stockholm -- The Soviet Union which is calling for a Nordic zone free of nuclear arms is replacing short-range SS5 nuclear missiles deployed in the Baltic states with SS20 intermediate ones. This was stated in a communique yesterday of the Baltic World Conference. And according to Mr Julius Kadelis, information director of the World Federation of Free Latvians, speaking at a Stockholm press conference, it has come as a shock to peace movements in Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania. Details both of the Baltic SS20 deployment and of a huge Soviet nuclear power plant said to be a radioactivity threat to the Baltic Sea are to go to the 35 nations taking part at Stockholm on Disarmament in Europe.

Mr Kadelis said mobile SS20 batteries had been located near the Estonian towns of Tapa and Koppu.

Mr Agu Kriisa, vice president of the Estonian world organization, commented that relaxed Soviet attitudes to nuclear safety margins were extremely worrying.

According to the Baltic World Conference the world's largest nuclear power plant had gone on line at Ignalina, Lithuania.

Despite official reservations from Lithuanian scientists, hot water from the plant was to be led directly into lake Druksiai, and a nuclear leak would mean radioactivity going directly through a river system into the Baltic sea.

Also handed to nations taking part in the Stockholm conference will be an appeal for action in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

Referring to the Helsinki Final Acts, the Baltic World Conference calls on the Stockholm meeting to work for a reappraisal of the situation in the Baltic states annexed by the Soviet Union under the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact of 1940. As a "major confidence-building measure" the organisation wants the Soviet Union to permit "free sale and distribution of at least three major dailies from each country participating in the Stockholm conference" and to stop jamming foreign broadcasts. The Baltic world organisation has also asked for observer status at the European conference, saying that most European and Western countries do not recognise the Soviet annexation.

SITUATION 'DETERIORATED' BETWEEN CSCE, CDE

PM171201 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 84 First Edition p 5

[Special correspondents M. Kostikov, V. Mikhaylov dispatch: "Stockholm, On the Eve"]

[Text] Stockholm, 16 Jan -- The huge square shapes of the Cultural Center stand out among the glass and concrete buildings that surround the central square in the Swedish capital. The Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe opens here tomorrow, 17 January. The flags of 33 European states, the United States, and Canada will be raised over the building. For Sweden, this is the biggest international forum in its history. For Europe, the conference could be an important stage in the highly difficult struggle for a life free from the threat of war.

Delegations have already arrived from the countries taking part in the conference. Particular attention was turned on the Soviet delegation headed by A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and foreign minister. The USSR's participation in the Stockholm conference is at the center of the mass media's attention. And that is only natural: Together with its allies, our country was the initiator of the conference, fought long and persistently to convene it, and is, naturally, committed to ensuring that the Stockholm forum is a notable milestone on the path of lessening the threat of war. The peoples know that the Soviet Union and the other European countries of the socialist community will come to Stockholm having already done much in the field of creating an atmosphere of trust in Europe.

There is something symbolic in the fact that the Swedish capital, famous for its traditions in the peace movement, has been chosen as the venue for the conference about to open. In the fifties, an appeal demanding a ban on nuclear weapons received the name of Stockholm. It was signed by more than 500 million people throughout the world.

The first stage of the conference is now to be held in the Swedish capital. It is devoted to questions of strengthening confidence among states. The second stage, concerned with disarmament, will follow later, after the end of the first stage. That was the decision of the Madrid meeting of the 35 states which took part in the CSCE. The forthcoming conference's tasks are also defined in the Madrid document adopted last fall.

Although only just over 4 months have elapsed between Madrid and Stockholm, the international situation has deteriorated still further during that time. The deployment of new American first-strike nuclear missiles has begun in the FRG, Britain, and Italy. The United States has not only led the arms race into a dangerous new spiral. It is also clear that the idea entertained by Washington of a "limited" nuclear war in Europe has thereby received material backing. The view that the siting of new American medium-range missiles in Western Europe also considerably complicates the situation in relation to the Stockholm conference is expressed frequently among the representatives of the world press who have gathered here. At the same time there are many opinions here to the effect that never before in our continent's entire history has the people's antiwar mood had such a strong influence.

The Stockholm conference has naturally given rise to heightened interest in the newspaper world and the mass media. Many journalists have converged on the Swedish capital from the countries taking part in the conference. Remarks by prominent statesmen are cited in their first reports and commentaries.

Finnish President Mauno Koivisto, for instance, noted that in its initial stage the conference will concentrate on questions of achieving agreement to extend confidence-building meaures. Confidence is the key issue in interstate relations in the modern world. Distrust poisons the atmosphere and leads to the arms race, the threat of the use of force, and even armed conflicts. The agreement to hold the conference reflects the fact that most Western states, and above all the neutral and nonaligned countries, seek to preserve the foundations of the detente policy.

Olof Palme, prime minister of the country hosting the conference, characterized Sweden's attitude to the coming forum thus: "We will work purposefully to ensure that the conference helps to turn developments from distrust toward trust between states and in the long term makes a weighty contribution to the disarmament process."

Of course, the peoples' security can only be reliably ensured by means of arms limitation, disarmament, and the development of all-around cooperation. And if the Stockholm conference succeeds in elaborating effective means of enhancing trust between states along this path -- the only path, to which there is no reasonable alternative -- of safeguarding Europe and the whole planet against nuclear catastrophe, it will justify the peoples' hopes.

IZVESTIYA VIEWS STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE PROSPECTS

PM171346 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 84 Morning Edition pp 1, 4

[Special correspondent N. Ivanov dispatch: "In the Interests of Confidence and Security. Before the Opening of the Stockholm Conference"]

[Text] Stockholm -- The Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe opens in Stockholm at foreign ministerial level 17 January. Sessions in which representatives of 33 European states and also the United States and Canada will participate will begin in the center of the Swedish capital, in the building where parliament was meeting until recently.

The task of this international forum is expressed with the utmost exactness in its name -- to build confidence, strengthen security, and promote disarmament. The conference is to be an important factor in easing tension on the European Continent, in reducing the danger of military confrontation, and in achieving disarmament.

It is almost 5 years since the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries first put forward the idea of holding such a conference. It immediately encountered sharp U.S. resistance. The issue became the object of a complex political struggle at the Madrid meeting. And yet the policy of conducting a dialogue and settling international problems round the negotiating table gained the upper hand. Our country has always championed and pursued precisely this policy. It was to a considerable extent thanks to the efforts of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states that the way was opened to the Stockholm forum.

The Swedish press is devoting great attention to the conference. And this is understandable. For the first time in many years the Swedish capital has become the venue for an important international meeting. Will Stockholm be a notable point on the path opened by the all-European conference? This was the chief question in the debate which got underway in the pages of the leading newspaper DAGENS NYHETER.

Some 400 diplomats have arrived for the conference which is about to open, and more than 1,500 journalists have been accredited. Some 800 policemen are guarding the international forum.

Of course, the significance of every European forum is determined not only by the number of participants and the presence of journalists but, above all, by the contribution that is made to strengthening and developing the policy elaborated by the all-European conference. The Stockholm conference's link with the Helsinki forum is rightful only if it displays a businesslike, constructive approach to international problems and creates conditions for peaceful development in Europe. The very concept of "confidence-building measures" was first recorded in the Helsinki Accords. And it is not our fault that the road to the Stockholm forum has stretched out for almost 10 years. The ambitious U.S. plans to upset the nuclear balance in its own favor, to achieve superiority over the Soviet Union, and to derail political detente have seriously complicated the international situation. The deployment of American nuclear missiles in West Europe has led to increased tension on the continent and to the undermining of confidence and security. The shadow of the Pershings and Tomahawks which are hastily being deployed in West Europe lies across the Stockholm conference. This factor must not be disregarded.

Scandinavian newspapers write, not without grounds, that new intonations have appeared in recent speeches by Washington politicians. On the eve of the conference's opening they do not tire of reiterating the United States' "constructive approach." Time will show to what extent Washington corroborates its words with constructive deeds. The Finnish newspaper HUFVUDSTADSBLADET writes in this connection that it may be a question of a major propaganda campaign mounted on the threshold of the conference.

At the same time attention is also being drawn to the fact that the United States has been forced to reckon with the opinions of the majority of European countries, including its NATO allies. As commentators point out, the United States cannot disregard the sentiments of the European public, which demands an end to the arms race and the halting of mankind's dangerous slide toward nuclear catastrophe.

The background to the conference opening in Stockholm is motley and ambiguous. It should not be painted in dark colors, but rosy tones are also inappropriate here. The conference is not cut off by an impenetrable wall from everything that is happening in Europe but bears the imprint of the negative changes that have occurred in the international situation as a result of the U.S. desire to dismantle the policy of detente and to start a new spiral of the nuclear arms race.

Sweden's trade unions have called for a mass demonstration to be held in the capital on the conference's opening day under the slogans: "No to Nuclear Missiles!" and "For Peace and Disarmament!" At the same time it is reported that NATO troops are mounting military exercises these days at the other end of northern Europe -- near the Soviet border. According to the designs of Atlantic strategists, these will be the biggest maneuvers ever held on the territory of northern Norway. Every one of these facts conveys quite precisely the atmosphere which has taken shape on the continent on the threshold of the Stockholm forum.

It is perfectly clear that strict observance of the mandate agreed on at the Madrid meeting for this conference is one of the chief conditions for the international forum's fruitful work. It will take the efforts of all the states whose representatives have gathered in Stockholm to ensure its success.

As for the Soviet Union, it has sought from the very start to develop the constructive dialogue begun in Helsinki. As Yu.V. Andropov emphasized, "our policy continues to be aimed at preserving and strengthening peace, easing tension, curbing the arms race, and broadening and deepening cooperation among states."

Our country sees it as its chief task to promote the strengthening of detente and the peoples' security not in words but in deeds, to divert the threat of nuclear war from the world, and to lift the burden of arms from mankind.

'GREAT SIGNIFICANCE' IN GROMYKO STOCKHOLM ARRIVAL

PM171539 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Jan 84 p 9

[Commentary by special correspondent Vladimir Lomeyko: "Stockholm: The Doors Are Open"]

[Text] First impression of Stockholm: The Swedes, usually calm, sober-minded, and not given to excitement, are in high spirits in these January days. They are emotional, they argue, they are proud, they swear -- both in newspapers and in conversations. The air is thick with forecasts. There are considerably more people than usual in Sorgels Torg in front of the Cultural Center, where parliament sat recently and where the flagpoles fly the flags of the 35 states participating in the conference that is due to open here 17 January. And although only a few of them can accurately repeat its official title -- Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe -- most of them understand that what is involved is an important meeting in the interests of peace on the continent.

The Swedish journalists with whom I have had an opportunity to talk admit: Of course, they would like their capital to justify the hopes of Europeans and the conference to manage to strengthen the foundation of security in Europe, although they all understand how difficult this is now, when the situation has deteriorated sharply. This, however, is why the role of Stockholm has grown, it being one of the few remaining bridges of detente. This was specially emphasized recently by the country's prime minister, Olof Palme: "Now that the siting of medium-range nuclear missiles has started in Europe, we cannot lose heart...."

It can be felt in Stockholm that people throughout Europe, and even in America and other continents, are aware of the extent of the nuclear threat hanging over us. Does this not explain why, in the words of Jan af Sillen, secretary general of the Stockholm conference, more than 1,500 journalists from dozens of countries have arrived to cover the meeting?

First talks in the conference lobbies with delegates from Sweden, Finland, the Soviet Union, Poland, the GDR, the FRG, Austria, and other countries. [sentence as published] The diplomats are, of course, disinclined to engage in confidential talks. Subject to conditions, however -- "not for publication," without permission to name or quote them -- some of them express their views.

All are, of course, perturbed by the main question: What can be expected from Stockholm? There is a complete range of feelings, from black scepticism to rose-colored optimism. In actual fact, many people here remark that, all of a sudden, those who rejected the conference idea for a long time in Madrid are now showing the world a rainbow of hopes for Stockholm. They are, furthermore, trying to speculate on the fact that, since the Soviet delegation is taking part in the Stockholm conference and is to meet the delegations from the United States and other Western countries, it means that nothing dreadful has happened. It means that the Pershing and cruise missiles do not signify the start of an ice age in Europe.

Thus they are deliberately juggling the cards. As regards Geneva, the Soviet Union pulled out from there because it was unwilling to be an accomplice in deceiving the peoples. Stockholm has quite different terms of reference, granted in Madrid. The first stage here will be the discussion of confidence measures. These confidence measures, however, must stem from the real requirements of life, they must not run ahead of reality, nor must they be built on the shaky planks of wishful thinking. They must lead to the main goal -- disarmament and the strengthening of security, peace, and cooperation in Europe.

Outside the Cultural Center I encountered a young man carrying a poster on his back: "End the siting of U.S. missiles in Europe -- this will immediately strengthen mutual trust!"

What the man with the sandwich board meant was: It is time to move on from words to deeds! This is why efforts must concentrate on confidence measures and security on the continent itself and in its adjacent sea areas and airspace. Europe, crammed full of nuclear weapons, needs nuclear-free zones like life-giving oases. What is needed are specific agreements reducing the risk of a nuclear conflagration arising. Would this not be served by NATO's rejection of the first use of nuclear weapons? Or by the conclusion of a treaty renouncing the use of force, as proposed by the East?

Conference circles attach great significance to the arrival of USSR Foreign Minister A.A. Gromkyo in Stockholm and anticipate his speech with great interest. Serious politicians know that Moscow, as in the past, will make a weighty contribution to the strengthening of confidence measures, security, and peace in Europe.

The bridges of trust, however, are solid only when their spans are built on both banks.

GROMKYO MEETS WITH SFRY COUNTERPART IN STOCKHOLM

D171957 Moscow TASS in English 1934 GMT 17 Jan 84

[Text] Stockholm January 17 TASS -- Andrey Gromkyo had a meeting with the Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia Lazar Mojzov.

Views on topical international problems, including those connected with the work of the Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe, were exchanged during the conversation which passed in a businesslike, friendly atmosphere.

The ministers expressed deep concern at the continuing complication of the situation in the world and first of all in Europe. In the light of Yuriy Andropov's statements of September 28 and November 24 Andrey Gromkyo stressed that by starting the deployment of American medium-range nuclear missiles on the territory of a number of West European countries the United States and NATO dealt a heavy blow to the cause of peace and security in the European Continent.

The ministers stated their firm intent to presa at the Stockholm conference for accords that would really serve the strengthening of confidence and security in the continent.

Having expressed concern over the existence of sharp conflict situations in the world, especially in the Middle East, the sides confirmed readiness to press for an all-embracing and just Middle East settlement through collective efforts by all interested sides, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Andrey Gromkyo and Lazar Mojsov expressed satisfaction with the state of bilateral Soviet-Yugoslav relations and expressed interest in the further strengthening and development of friendship and all-around cooperation between the USSR and Yugoslavia.

STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE OPENS; PROCEEDINGS REPORTED

LD171115 Moscow TASS in English 1053 GMT 17 Jan 84

[Text] Stockholm, January 17 TASS -- The Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe opened in the Swedish capital today. It is attended by delegations of 33 European states as well as the United States and Canada.

The foreign ministers of participating states have arrived for the opening of the conference. The Soviet Union is represented by member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Andrey Gromyko.

A welcoming speech to the participants in the conference was made by the prime minister of Sweden Olof Palme.

More on Opening

LD172326 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Jan 84

[Special correspondent Georgiy Zubkov report from Stockholm]

[Text] The Swedish capital has been the venue for important international meetings more than once, but such a meeting as the conference that opened here today Stockholm has never seen. The flags of 35 countries -- European states, the United States, and Canada -- have been hoisted on the city's central square above the building where the Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe is taking place. The conference is being held at the level of foreign affairs ministers.

Many inhabitants of Stockholm came to the main square, Sorgels Torg, today. They came to welcome the participants in the conference. Swedish artists performed here and sang their songs in defense of peace. In response to an appeal by the trade unions, this evening a meeting attended by many people will take place on this same square. Together with workers, the representatives of the most diverse circles of the Swedish public will gather for it. They are coming out in favor of Europe being free of any nuclear weapons.

The Stockholm conference is an integral part of the process of detente, which was outlined by the Helsinki CSCE conference. It has received its baton from the meetings in Belgrade of the representatives of the member-states of this conference. The aim of the Stockholm conference is to discuss and adopt new, effective, and specific measures to strengthen trust and security with a view to lessening the danger of a military confrontation on the European Continent.

Can this be achieved? Such a question cannot be answered on the day the conference opens but today it is already clear that the conference's work will be complicated in many respects by Washington's openly militarist course and efforts to change the balance of military forces that has taken shape in its favor. Judging from President Reagan's latest addresses, one must not expect Washington to change its policy from that of a position of strength, which goes against the search for confidence and security measures. Although representatives of the U.S. Administration are making speeches about love of peace, they are most likely to sabotage the achievement of an accord at this conference.

The conference opened this morning with a welcoming speech by Swedish Foreign Minister Lennart Bodstroem. At the opening of the conference a speech was made by Olof Palme, the Swedish premier.

He noted the complicated international situation in which the Stockholm conference is starting its work. Olof Palme stressed that although at the first stage of the conference the problem of disarmament will not be examined directly, it is difficult to overestimate its importance. Peace and security must be looked for around the conference table, he said.

Palme Addresses Conference

LD172102 Moscow TASS in English 2012 GMT 17 Jan 84

[Text] Stockholm January 17 TASS -- Prime Minister Olof Palme of Swecen addressed the participants in the Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe that opened in the Swedish capital today.

The presence in this hall of so many prominent statesmen, he said, attests to the importance of the conference.

The participants in the Helsinki conference agreed in 1975 to facilitate through concerted effort the consolidation of stability in Europe: lessening of tension, development of economic cooperation, respect for human rights, in other words, promotion of broader mutual understanding.

Noting the successes accomplished along this path -- the preservation of peace in Europe -- Olof Palme stressed that the developments cannot conceal the fact that we live in the conditions of the serious aggravation of international tension and enhanced war theat.

We gathered here, in Stockholm to discuss confidence-building measures. We realize that today's world is characterized by absence of confidence. Under these conditions, it is more important than any time before, to take carefully into account the danger of the continuing buildup of nuclear arsenals in Europe. Palme called for accords that would put an end to the deployment and would, subsequently, lead to the reduction of the nuclear armaments already based on the continent. The speaker expressed the hope that the world's leading states will use all possibilities for looking for ways to continue constructive dialogue and serious negotiations.

The Swedish prime minister criticized the strategy of nuclear deterrence and stressed the need to establish a universal security system. The prevention of war that threatens the existence of mankind should be in the common interests.

The present meeting, the speaker went on, is the beginning of a new process within the framework of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The participating countries decided to reach accord on confidence-building measures and security. There is a common hope that the accords that could be reached during the conference will lay groundwork for reducing the level of armaments. To achieve this aim, it is necessary to avoid confrontation and exaggerated polemics at the conference. It is necessary to use every possibility for creating a favourable working climate at the conference.

Sweden, like other countries, is vitally interested in continuing the process of detente in Europe and in lasting peace that can be attained through resuming a dialogue between states and gradual lessening of their mistrust to one another.

We are convinced that the conference enjoys backing of all people on the continent who hope that it will be successful and will bring about concrete results.

The Swedish Government, the prime minister said, will do everything possible to justify the trust bestowed on Sweden as the host country for this conference of exceptional importance. We should contribute to enhancing confidence and cooperation in the interests of security.

Gromyko Addresses Conference

LD181203 Moscow World Service in English 1129 GMT 18 Jan 84

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko, addressing the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures, Security and Disarmament in Europe, has said the peoples of Europe are expecting that the forum will adopt decisions which will facilitate a turn for the better in the international situation. Its tension is evoked by the militarist policy of the Administration of the United States which is striving to attain military superiority.

The Soviet foreign minister pointed out that because of a number of reasons and conditions Europe does have the necessary prerequisites for cooperation.

Andrey Gromyko expressed the hope that at the conference wisdom will take the upper hand and all its participants will express their political will and a feeling of responsibility. All decisions on strengthening trust and security in Europe must be taken on the basis of equality of rights, equal and balanced conditions and mutual relations, and this must all lead to a lowering of the military confrontation on the continent.

Andrey Gromyko said that regardless of the efforts of certain politicians to bid farewell to disarmament and relaxation of tension it does have a vital force. Relaxation of tension expresses the aspirations of the peoples in the world, said Andrey Gromyko.

Chnoupek Speaks

LD180016 Moscow TASS in English 2348 GMT 17 Jan 84

[Text] Stockholm January 18 TASS -- Bohuslav Chnoupek, Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs, spoke here at the current Conference on Confidence-Building Measures, and Security and Disarmament in Europe. He pointed out that the policy of detente is the only reasonable alternative of the nuclear age which has found enough strength to hold out against the opponents' attacks.

The Czechoslovak minister emphasized that the conference is taking place in the conditions of an exceptionally complex international situation which has become particularly aggravated of late as a result of the start of the deployment of new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe. The imperialist circles, and first of all the USA, Chnoupek stated, are spiralling up a new dangerous round of the arms race. It was through their fault that the Geneva talks on nuclear arms were frustrated.

We support the USSR's stand set out by Yuriy Andropov in the statement dated November 24, last year, Bohuslav Choupek said. The stand is clear to the utmost: If the USA and other NATO countries show readiness to return to the state of affairs which existed prior to the start of the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe, the Soviet Union will also be ready to do that.

We in Czechoslovakia cannot ignore this situation, the minister went on to say. We shall never allow a recurrence of Munich and of its consequences. This is why in the conditions of the qualitatively new military and strategic situation we have started to take the necessary defence measures -- i.e. began preparatory work for the deployment of missile complexes of operational-tactical designation.

Bohuslav Chnoupek drew attention of the participants in the conference to the socialist states' proposals contained in the Prague political declaration adopted by the Warsaw Treaty member states in January last year. Of special importance, he pointed out, is the proposal to conclude a treaty between the Warsaw Treaty member states and the NATO countries on mutual non-use of military force and on the maintenance of relations of peace. That treaty, he said, would also envisage an active cooperation in the most important spheres of strengthening international security and an obligation to deepen peaceful mutual relations. Its adoption would mean an important contribution to the realization of the accords reached in Helsinki. The Czechoslovak minister mentioned a number of other measures which would contribute to strengthening the security of the peoples of Europe, including renunciation by all nuclear powers of a first use of nuclear weapons, and freeing the continent from chemical weapons.

GDR's Fischer Cited

LD180634 Moscow TASS in English 0629 GMT 18 Jan 84

[Text] Stockholm January 18 TASS -- Foreign Minister of the German Democratic Republic Oskar Fischer made a speech on Tuesday at the Conference on Confidence-Building Measures, and Security and Disarmament in Europe, which is under way in the capital of Sweden.

The Stockholm conference, he said, is the result of intensive efforts that have been exerted during many years by those who cherish peace and security in Europe, who strive to bring international relations into the calm channel of peaceful coexistence and mutually-beneficial cooperation. That way justified itself, and it should be followed in the future.

Oskar Fischer noted that a sharp deterioration of the international situation in the recent time is the direct result of imperialism's policy, its desire to have military superiority, backed up by the conceptions of "a limited" and "victorious" nuclear wars. It is necessary to return to constructive cooperation, stressed Oskar Fischer. He reminded to the participants in the conference about the peace initiatives that were put forward by the Warsaw Treaty member states. These are comprehensive programme of building up confidence, lessening tensions in the world, above all preventing a nuclear catastrophe.

The GDR foreign minister noted the importance of realisation of such measures as establishment of nuclear-free zones in different parts of the continent.

REAGAN SPEECH 'INAUSPICIOUS START' TO CDE

PM172020 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 84 First Edition p 5

[Special correspondents M. Kostikov and V. Mikhaylov dispatch under the general heading: "Stockholm: Work Begins. The Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe Has Opened"]

[Excerpts] Stockholm, 17 Jan -- The flags of the 35 countries taking part in the Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe were raised over the capital's Cultural Center today to announce the start of the first day's work.

dere in Stockholm right now, on the pages of the Swedish press, there is no shortage of various optimistic interviews given by representatives of the United States and certain NATO countries in connection with the work of the conference.

This tone has clearly been set by the latest speech made by Reagan, who has endeavored to influence a West European public disturbed by the deployment of the new American nuclear missiles. By means of demagogic expatiations the United States and NATO are seeking to pass themselves off as the virtual "saviors" of detente and of East-West political dialogue, while they attempt to place on the USSR the responsibility for the current "critical situation" and the "breakdown of communications."

Even today it is possible to say that this speech did not have the impact planned by its authors on the conference participants. Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme remarked in conversation with PRAVDA's correspondents that President Reagan's speech, which combines words about force with a proposal about cooperation, is an inauspicious start. It can scarcely lay a path towards mutual understanding.

In this connection some local political observers are noting that the work of the Stockholm forum will not proceed without difficulties since the United States, by preaching the possibility of a nuclear war "limited" to the confines of Europe, is in fact pursuing a course which runs counter to the aims of the conference and is aimed at undermining confidence and rendering the nuclear arms race more severe [uzhestocheniye gonki yadernykh vooruzheniy].

The antiwar struggle in Europe has provided remarkable results. It has altered the psychological atmosphere on the continent, and this is felt distinctly here today in Stockholm.

The voice of the European public, which demands the continued building of a peaceful Europe, has resounded powerfully on the opening day of the conference.

'MONSTROUS CONCLUSIONS' SEEN IN WEINBERGER SPEECH

LD171654 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1530 GMT 17 Jan 84

[By TASS military observer Vladimir Bogachev]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Jan (TASS) -- Caspar Weinberger, the U.S. defense secretary, asserts that if the United States undertook not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, this would allegedly lead to "undermining security" in the world, whereas the further buildup of American nuclear armaments, in his words, will have "a truly tremendous favorable influence on global stability and security."

In his speech in the Chamber of Commerce at Portsmouth (New Hampshire), Weinberger entreated his audience to believe his fables that the arms limitation talks could be "serious" only if the United States implements a program for building up its strategic systems and its might in conventional weapons, and carries out its plans for the deployment of "Pershings" and cruise missiles in Western Europe.

These monstrous "conclusions," which fly in the face of common sense, were presented by the defense secretary to his audience as no more than innocent paradoxes.

Speculating on the lack of information of the broad public, and attempting to neutralize the growing concern of the population of the Western countries at Washington's militarist circles, the head of the U.S. military department became engaged in Portsmouth in the dissemination of fables about the American position at the talks on the limitation and reduction of strategic weapons. In particular, Weinberger asserted that in Geneva the United States "had put on the conference table the most far-ranging proposals in all history."

In the meantime, with the adoption of the American proposals, the arms race would be simply directed along channels which the Pentagon considers to be advantageous for the United States, and the Soviet Union would be obliged to reconstruct in a radical manner the structure of its strategic forces and to dismantle its most modern ICBM's which now make up the basis of the nuclear shield of the socialist community. Washington would acquire an almost threefold superiority in heavy bombers and an eightfold advantage in air-based cruise missiles.

On the other hand, the American proposals envisage no limitation for the implementation of all the U.S. programs which are being already implemented or which are planned. They demand no reconstruction of the structure of American strategic forces.

Weinberger devoted a significant part of his speech to technical measures for preventing the accidental, unintended outbreak of a nuclear war. The U.S. defense secretary was clearly trying to present the affair as though new teleprinters in bilateral contact between Moscow and Washington and other technical innovations can compensate for the deterioration of the military-political situation as a result of the adventuristic, militaristic actions of the United States in Europe.

It is to be noted that confidence measures that could really assist in defusing tension are important and the Soviet side has always taken a serious approach to them. Certain measures in the sphere were adopted in the framework of the Helsinki Accords. The USSR is proposing measures more serious in character and more extensive in range.

The Soviet Union considers that the main path to achieving trust and the prevention of any war, including one which might arise by chance, is to halt the arms race and to return to calm, correct relations between states and to detente.

The atmosphere of mutual suspicion will not be dissipated, nor trust restored, simply by the technical measures proposed by Washington. Something more is necessary: a normalization of the situation, a renunciation of the preaching of hatred and enmity and of propaganda for nuclear war. Practical measures showing the existence of goodwill for safeguarding peace are needed from the U.S. Administration.

The primary need is for the United States and NATO to be willing to return to the situation that existed before the beginning of the deployment in Europe of the new American missiles. This would bring a suitable response from the Soviet side.

However, unfortunately, as is shown by Weinberger's Portsmouth speech, no positive changes in the approaches of the Reagan administration to the solution of the problem of limiting and reducing armaments, particularly nuclear armaments, are envisaged.

WESTERN REACTION TO REAGAN ADDRESS CITED

LD172338 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1545 GMT 17 Jan 84

[From "The World Today" program presented by political observer Aleksandr Zholkver]

[Text] What position has been adopted on the eve of the Stockholm conference by the NATO countries, primarily the United States? Not a day has gone by recently without one of the spokesmen from the White House or the State Department stating that official Washington is softening its policy toward the Soviet Union and henceforth is a champion of dialogue. As is known, President Reagan himself made such a speech. However, political observers did not note in the speech any kind of new ideas or constructive proposals that would have indicated readiness on the part of the United States to renounce its course of military supremacy. The United States evidently intends to conduct the Soviet-U.S. dialogue from a position of strength, and all the talking about peace, about arms limitation, is designed only to placate public opinion.

Many eminent political and public figures in the United States itself received President Reagan's speech in this way. Former Vice President Mondale called this speech demagogic. Mondale categorically rejected the assertion of the head of the White House that the world has become safer under the present administration. On the contrary, Mondale stressed, as a result of the policy of the White House the arms race has acquired an even more threatening nature.

The West European press regarded Reagan's speech guardedly and with skepticism. This speech, the London DAILY MAIL writes, contained no new proposals and was of a declarative nature. Another British newspaper, THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, evaluates the President's speech only as an attempt to dispel the impression of him as a cowboy ready to pull the trigger that has come about. Even the London TIMES writes that Reagan's speech was intended only to calm the Europeans.

ZHAO ON 'PROGRESS,' 'FAILURES' IN PRC-U.S. TIES

PM181136 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Jan 84 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Chinese Premier's Speech]

[Text] New York, 17 Jan -- Before flying off to Canada, the Chinese premier addressed members of the Foreign Policy Association in New York. He pointed out that over the last 5 years relations between the PRC and the United States have been marked by "fairly great progress" and by "difficulties and failures."

For the future, he pointed out, there are two possible ways to develop relations between the United States and China. "One of them is steady and uninterrupted development of our friendly relations and cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual advantage." Differences must be removed and obstacles eliminated. The other way, the PRC State Council premier went on to say, is "stagnation in our relations," maintaining them at their present level "with frequent friction and even failures."

"The Taiwan problem," Zhao Ziyang noted, "is the main obstacle in the way of the development of Sino-American relations."

China cannot give guarantees to any foreign state that "only peaceful means will be used to resolve the Taiwan problem."

Replying to questions after his speech, the PRC State Council premier admitted that "China and the United States occupy identical positions on the questions of Afghanistan and Kampuchea" and expressed the hope that "the two sides will be able to coordinate their efforts on this question."

Here the Chinese premier committed a deliberate distortion of Soviet policy in these regions.

Zhao Ziyang admitted that "the United States expressed the desire to sell arms to China, which it did not want to sell previously." "China wants to buy only what it can afford to buy," he said. The State Council premier, however, avoided replying to a question about the exact type of weapons at issue.

U.S.-JAPAN MILITARY, TRADE TALKS CONCLUDE

LD171342 Moscow TASS in English 1322 GMT 17 Jan 84

[Text] Tokyo January 17 TASS -- TASS correspondent Sergey Logachev reports:

The meeting between the Japanese Prime Minister Yashuro Nakasone and a delegation of high-placed officials of the Washington administration ended here today with smiles, handshakes and reciprocal assurances of firmness of Japanese-American relations. The yet another American mission which included aides of the President, vice-president and U.S. secretary of state came to the Japanese isles to press upon Japan for new concessions in the trade and economic sphere and to whip up Tokyo's militaristic preparations.

At today's negotiations Nakasone reaffirmed his government's readiness to reduce tariffs on a number of American commodities, to broaden purchases of farm products in the United States and to continue negotiations on the purchase of electronic equipment and communication satellites in the United States. Such measures, as is noted by the local press, will hit hard the Japanese agriculture and lead to a heightening of competition in the home market.

The participants in the meeting did not overlook military affairs either. According to a report of the KYODO TSUSHIN news agency, American representatives demanded once again that Japan should mobilize efforts in building up the might of the Armed Forces. They made it clear that in Washington they count on more active implementation of Tokyo's remilitarisation programmes. The Nakasone government is meeting half way also these demands which have the aim to turn Japan into an obedient appendage of the U.S. aggressive military machine. The Nakasone government unhesitatingly reduces allocations for education, public health and other needs of the population so as to have additional thousand million yen for the swelling military budget which the conservatives intend to bring in 1984 up to an unprecedented level of almost 3 trillion yen. The Japanese democratic press stresses in this connection that the flirting of the Japanese ruling circles with the Reagan administration, which stakes on the policy from the position of strength, threatens the Japanese people with the most serious consequences.

MORE ON DPRK PROPOSAL ON KOREAN REUNIFICATION

UN Envoy Holds Conference

SK160428 Moscow in Korean to Korea 1130 GMT 15 Jan 84

[Text] A press conference for the peaceful solution of the Korean issue has been held at UN Headquarters.

(Yi In-ho), the DPRK permanent representative to the UN, informed reporters about the joint meeting of the Central People's Committee and the SPA Standing Committee of the DPRK which on 10 January discussed new measures for the country's peaceful reunification.

At the press conference it was stressed that responsibility for the continued tense situation on the Korean peninsula lies, first of all [uson], with the United States. Washington has turned South Korea into a nuclear bridgehead of the United States in this region. More than 1,000 nuclear weapons, including bombs, artillery rounds, and (?Lance) missiles, have already been deployed in the South Korea area.

'Constructive Dialogue' Pushed

PM171409 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 84 First Edition p 5

[Valerian Skortsov "Commentator's Column": "Proposals Put Forward"]

[Text] A session of the DPRK Central People's Committee and the Supreme People's Assembly Standing Committee held recently in Pyongyang put forward new proposals for a peaceful settlement in the Korean peninsula. They envisage tripartite talks involving the DPRK, the United States, and South Korea that are to center on the question of replacing the armistice with a peace agreement and on the withdrawal of U.S. troops.

The DPRK's present initiative has been made under conditions of sharply worsening tension on the peninsula. It has been caused primarily by further U.S. attempts to transform Korea into a "testing ground for strongarm confrontation," as NODONG SINMUN wrote recently, as well as by its generally aggressive intrigues in the Asian and Pacific region. The U.S. President's recent visit to Tokyo and Seoul merely contributed new destabilizing elements to the situation around the Korean peninsula. The appearance of U.S. warships carrying nuclear weapons, plans for the deployment of cruise missiles in Japan, the reequipping with modern weapons of the Pentagon's troops in South Korea, which has already turned into a U.S. military base, as well as the enlargement of Seoul's puppet army -- these are the main features of the militarist "triangle" in the DPRK's immediate vicinity.

People's Korea believes that constructive dialogue is the only way to achieving peace on the peninsula and the country's peaceful unification. To develop that dialogue it is proposed to conclude a nonaggression declaration between north and south. Under it the sides would pledge not to use their armed forces against one another, to sharply reduce the size of their armed forces, and to remove the state of military confrontation. It might then be possible for the DPRK and South Korea to hold talks on the basis of previously agreed principles.

To break the deadlock in the resolution of the Korean question it is necessary above all that the newly begun buildup by the United States of its own and Seoul's Armed Forces in the south of the peninsula be stopped and that the existence of the large-scale Pentagon base there -- which is "directly connected," so Washington asserts, with "U.S. security" -- be ended. Violations of the existing armistice agreement and all provocative attacks against the DPRK must also cease.

Only a peaceful settlement of existing problems is in the interests of the Korean people and of safeguarding security in the peninsula and the adjacent region.

SOVIET MISSILE UNIT IN GDR DESCRIBED

PM180916 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Jan 84 First Edition p 1

[Special correspondent Colonel M. Ponomarev report: "In Response to the Increased Threat" -- first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] In the 24 November 1983 statement by Yu.V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, it was also noted, as one of the Soviet Union's countermeasures to the siting of American Pershings and cruise missiles in Europe, that "by agreement with the GDR and CSSR Governments, the preparatory work commenced some time ago -- as was announced -- for the siting of enhanced-range operational-tactical missiles [operativno-takticheskiye rakety povyshennoy dalnosti] on those countries' territory, will be accelerated."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondent visited a Soviet missile unit deployed on GDR territory in accordance with this decision. We publish his reportage below.

As soon as I arrived at the unit, I was told that by the time of the arrival of the Soviet missile men, much of what is necessary for servicemen's life and combat training had already been prepared here: residential and amenity premises had been equipped and the necessary training base set up. Our German friends gave great assistance. All this enabled the missile men to embark immediately on the planned exercises in combat and political training. The personnel are working intensively, selflessly, giving their all. The unit commander, his political deputy, and the senior chiefs told me this with one voice. And I saw for myself the truth of it when I visited the missile men at their exercises.

"How could it be otherwise?" Junior Sergeant A. Chernykh observed. "After all, each of us is very well aware what an important, and at the same time difficult, task has been set for us. We must be ready to give a fitting rebuff to the aggressor if he dares to encroach on the security of the Soviet people and our allies and friends. To this end we have been entrusted with truly terrible, mighty weapons."

Private A. Grigola joined in the conversation. He explained that during the redeployment things had been difficult for everyone in the unit. But now life has already settled into the normal army pattern. The hardware is in full order. Exercises are in progress. The first letters from home have already begun to arrive at the new address.

Conversations with other missile men were in approximately the same vein. Pride in the trust placed in them and a sense of personal responsibility for the destinies of peace could be clearly heard in their words.

"You know," battery commander Captain I. Kozlov said, "everything is as it was before: We are training intensively and struggling to achieve higher classes, exceed normatives, and master combined specialities. All the same, a difference can be sensed.

An upsurge in morale is noticeable. What has caused it? I will try to tell you briefly. First and foremost, it is due to the results of the December Plenum of the party's Central Committee, as well as the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

Another important thing is the profound awareness of every -- I repeat, every -- serviceman of the full significance and necessity of the measures being adopted by the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states in response to the increased threat from the NATO bloc. And this gives us confidence that we will fulfill our mission.

This confidence on the part of the missile men in their own strength, their unswerving determination in any conditions and any circumstances to fulfill their duty to the motherland -- that is perhaps the main impression I gained from my trip to the region of the deployment of enhanced-range operation-tactical missiles [operativno-takticheskiye rakety povyshennoy dalnosti] on GDR territory.

GDR'S HOFFMANN HITS 'DANGEROUS' U.S. POLICY

PM161437 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Jan 84 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "H. Hoffmann Speech"]

[Text] Berlin, 13 Jan -- Army General H. Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and GDR national defense minister, has told a National People's Army division party conference that the deployment of new American first-strike nuclear weapons in West European countries and the increasingly aggressive character of the U.S. and NATO political course are creating a new strategic situation in Europe and throughout the world. U.S. imperialism's dangerous policy is being actively countered by political, economic and military measures from the Soviet Union and its allies -- the socialist community states.

POLAND'S CZYREK HAILS COOPERATION WITH USSR

PM171424 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Jan 84 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Reliably Defending"]

[Text] Warsaw, 13 Jan -- J. Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, speaking at the Warsaw Military District report and election party conference, has stated that the indissoluble alliance, friendship, and cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries are a guarantee of Poland's sovereignty and security.

He said that the international situation is worsening as a result of the course of confrontation being pursued by the U.S. Administration and the NATO countries, which are seeking to achieve strategic military superiority. The deployment of American first-strike nuclear weapons in West Europe has led to a qualitatively new round in the arms race, which poses a special threat to the cause of peace.

While taking requisite measures to maintain the existing strategic military equilibrium, J. Czyrek emphasized, the socialist countries are consistently continuing the peace offensive. The new proposal by Warsaw Pact states to free Europe from chemical weapons is convincing corroboration of this principled course. It has been put forward on the eve of the opening in Stockholm of the conference on measures to strengthen confidence and security and on disarmament in Europe. The new initiative shows that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries see concrete potential for improving the international situation and removing the threat of a new war being launched. The speaker emphasized that the Polish People's Armed Forces are reliably defending socialist gains in Poland. They are a firm link in the Warsaw Pact -- the socialist states' defensive alliance.

MOSCOW GORKOM OFFICIAL RECEIVED BY PZPR'S WOZNIAK

LD172332 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1832 GMT 17 Jan 84

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 17 Jan (TASS) -- The working people of the Polish Peoples Republic today celebrated the 39th anniversary of the liberation of Warsaw from the German fascist invaders.

A delegation of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom headed by I.N. Ponomarev, secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, has arrived in Warsaw to take part in the festivities. The delegation was received by M. Wozniak, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee.

CPCZ'S LENART CITED ON USSR MISSILE DEPLOYMENT

PM131147 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 84 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Averting the Danger"]

[Text] Bratislava, 12 Jan -- In present-day conditions communists, progressive forces, and all people of goodwill should do all they can to avert the danger of war and uphold peace. This was stated in an interview for the Bratislava newspaper PRAVDA by J. Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee.

The threat to universal security, he pointed out, has increased still further as a result of the commencement of the deployment of new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe, some of which are being installed in closed proximity to our borders. That is why the CPCZ and the Czechoslovak people fully approved the enforced countermeasures by the USSR aimed at ensuring the security of all the socialist community states. The decision of the Governments of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia on deploying operational-tactical missiles complexes on CSSR territory was also greeted with understanding.

USSR-HUNGARY FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS CONFER

PM131647 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jan 84 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Consultations at the USSR Foreign Ministry"]

[Text] Soviet-Hungarian consultations were held at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs 11-12 January. Taking part in them were I. Roska, Hungarian deputy foreign minister; S. Rajnai, Hungarian ambassador to the USSR; B.I. Aristov, USSR deputy foreign minister, and other leading workers of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Questions of mutual interest were discussed.

'IMPERIALIST' CIRCLES 'EXPLOITING' CHAD ISSUE

PM180928 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 84 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Serbin report: "Responsibility Rests With Imperialism"]

[Text] Addis Ababa, 14 Jan -- A statement in connection with the breakdown of talks between the Chadian groups on the question of national reconciliation has been distributed here on behalf of the National Unity Transition Government [GUNT] of Chad. A meeting should have taken place in accordance with an OAU initiative. The reason for the failure of the talks, the statement says, is the position taken by the incumbent Ndjamena administration. Pointing out the present Ndjamena authorities dependence on imperialist forces, the GUNT has declared that France and the United States bear the responsibility for the breakdown in the process of a peaceful settlement in Chad. The GUNT, the document says, demands the complete and immediate withdrawal from Chad of the foreign forces ensuring the Ndjamena group's protection.

At a press conference given here Goukouni Oueddei, chairman of the GUNT, who is here as one of the participants in the talks that were to have taken place, noted that the transition government and the groups included in it came of Addis Ababa filled with goodwill and firm resolve to conclude peace with the Nkjamena group. H. Habre however, G. Oeuddei went on, scorned all efforts, including those made by the OAU, for a peaceful solution to the Chad problem.

Protocol matters were the only grounds for H. Habre's refusal to meet with us, the GUNT head said. France, which is maintaining a large contingent of its troops on Chadian territory, G. Oueddei declared, is against peace in divided Chad and wishes to take advantage of this split and continue to exploit our people. If France and those whom it protects reject the peaceful solution of the Chadian problem we will be forced to resort to means of legitimate defense, G. Oueddei said. The GUNT, he declared, is the sole legitimate representative of the Chadian's people's interest. The GUNT head condemned the imperialist circles which, by exploiting the Chadian problem, are attempting to sow discord within the OAU's ranks.

REGIONAL PRESS DETAILS SUPREME SOVIET SPEECHES

Uzbekistan's Khudayberdyyev

PM161725 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 30 Dec 83 p 3

[Speech by N.D. Khudayberdyyev of the Izbaskanskiy Electoral Okrug, Andizhan Oblast, chairman of the Uzbek Council of Ministers, at the 28 December afternoon session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies! Our party Central Committee's December Plenum, which comprehensively examined and in the main approved the draft State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR and the draft USSR State Budget for 1984, was an important political event in the Soviet people's life.

The participants in the CPSU Central Committee Plenum and all Soviet people received with tremendous satisfaction and unanimous approval the plenum speech by Comrade Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which was in accord with Leninist principles and imbued with party efficiency and exactingness. Comrade Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov summarized the results of the work that has been done to fulfill the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the Central Committee November (1982) Plenum, gave an in-depth and scientifically validated assessment of the state of and further development prospects of the country's economy, analyzed the achievements and shortcomings, and indicated ways and means of resolving the key national economic problems.

We can clearly see that the period since the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum has enriched the party and the country with important new experience of state, party, and economic building.

Positive trends have emerged in the development of social production. The increase in the pace of economic growth, the consistent implementation of social tasks, the strengthening of discipline and organization, the stepping up of cadres' initiative and responsibility, and the improvement in work style which is now making itself felt in every labor collective and at every level of management from top to bottom -- we see in all this the real outcome of the party's correctly formulated line and of the purposeful, farsighted activity of the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo headed by Comrade Yu.V. Andropov.

Uzbekistan's working people, like all Soviet people, unanimously support and approve the Communist Party's wise domestic and foreign policy. Comrade Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov's statement, which is of tremendous political importance, resolutely exposes the current U.S. Administration's pernicious aggressive policy -- a policy dangerous to the cause of peace -- and expresses the Soviet Union's firm resolve to intensify the struggle for peace, international security, and the preservation of life on earth for this and future generations, has found a broad response in our hearts. At many rallies and talks in the republic, universal approval of the measures adopted by the USSR and its allies in response to the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe has been voiced. History has entrusted our motherland and the socialist community countries with a world historic mission -- saving mankind from thermonuclear catastrophe.

It would be right and timely, as deputies who spoke earlier have said, to adopt a special document in support of Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov's statement.

Comrades! Fulfilling the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and of the November (1982) and June (1983) Central Committee Plenums and relying on the ever-increasing assistance and support of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Government, and all the fraternal union republics, Soviet Uzbekistan is successfully completing 1983 and the first 3 years of the current 5-year plan as a whole.

The total volume of industrial production will increase 5 percent during the year as compared to the target of 4 percent. There has been a considerable increase in the production and improvement in the quality of consumer goods.

Certain improvements have also been achieved in capital construction. In the 5-year plan so far over 100 large enterprises, shops, and subsidiaries have been commissioned, including some for consumer goods production in small towns and population centers. A broad social program for improving working people's living standards is being implemented in line with the 5-year plan targets. A large quantity of housing and cultural-consumer projects has been built.

The tasks set by the Food Program are being actively resolved. The 1983 plans have been overfulfilled for the purchase of grain, mainly by means of wheat and rice, and of potatoes, vegetables, cucurbits, fruit, and grapes. The all-union stocks have received 1,125,000 metric tons of fruit and vegetables, which is much higher than the target. The state's purchases of livestock, milk, and eggs are nearing completion. Plans for the procurement of silk cocoons, wool, astrakhan skins, and kenaf have been successfully fulfilled. The republic's state budget for 1983 is being fulfilled. The profitability of Uzbekistan's enterprises, construction organizations, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes is increasing.

Comrades! It is well known that under the all-union division of labor Uzbekistan is making a great contribution to meeting the country's needs for cotton -- a very valuable industrial raw material. Aware of their patriotic and international duty, cotton growers, under the republic party organization's leadership, are waging a persistent struggle to fulfill their adopted pledge -- to provide the motherland with 30 million metric tons of "white gold" in the 11th 5-Year Plan.

We are pleased to report to the USSR Supreme Soviet session today that thanks to the heroic labor of Uzbekistan's farmers in this year's incredibly difficult weather, another confident step has been taken toward achieving this goal: The 1983 cotton procurement plan has been successfully fulfilled. Procurement centers have received over 5,930,000 metric tons of cotton, including about 600,000 metric tons of high quality fine-fiber varieties, which is almost double the amount at the beginning of the 5-year plan. (applause)

But while assessing what has been achieved on its merits, however, particularly in light of the CPSU Central Committee December Plenum's high demands, we are aware that unfinished work, omissions, and shortcomings exist in this very important sector of our economy. Serious concern is aroused by the fact that a number of oblasts, rayons, and farms in the republic have failed to cope with their cotton targets this year.

Uzbekistan -- an area of highly efficient irrigated arable farming -- has great reserves and potential for the further development of cotton growing. We in Uzbekistan know that this depends primarily on us, on our management ability, and on the organizational and political work of party and soviet organs and all working people in the republic.

However, there are quite a few urgent problems in the development of this very important economic sector which require comprehensive examination and solution by union organs. These are questions of selection, cotton seed cultivation, the organization of an effective struggle against wilt, which causes tremendous damage to the harvest, comprehensive mechanization and chemicalization, particularly in connection with the introduction of the new All-Union State Standard, the further development of irrigation and land reclamation, the storage and processing of procured cotton with the aim of sharply increasing the quality of cotton fiber, and so forth.

In view of the exceptional importance of the above-mentioned problems for the national economy as a whole, the further development of domestic cotton production and its attainment of new higher targets, we would consider it expedient to examine these problems together with other cotton-growing republics and the relevant ministries and departments at the USSR Gosplan and to prepare comprehensive proposals for submission to the directive organs.

Summing up the results for 1983 and the first 3 years of the 5-year plan, the republic's party and soviet organs and all labor collectives, guided by the CPSU Central Committee December Plenum instruction on the need for the efficient organization of work both centrally and locally, will direct their efforts from the first few days of 1984 toward establishing rhythmical, highly productive work in all sectors of the national economy and enabling lagging enterprises, construction sites, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes to make up ground.

Communists and all the working people of Uzbekistan warmly support Comrade Yu.V. Andropov's proposal on striving for a 1 percent above-plan increase in labor productivity and an additional 0.5 percent fall in output prime cost. This, for us, is a responsible party assignment.

Comrades! The year now beginning is particularly noteworthy for us -- it is the 60th anniversary of the formation of the Uzbek SSR and the Uzbek Communist Party. The republic's working people are full of a desire, by developing socialist competition on a broad scale, to greet this glorious jubilee by successfully resolving the great and responsible tasks facing us.

In terms of many of the most important indicators Uzbekistan's economic and social development levels planned for 1984 either correspond to or surpass the 5-year plan targets. In comparison with 1980, national income will increase by 23 percent. The volume of industrial production will increase by 5.4 percent, the 5-year plan target being 19.1 percent. This is a higher growth rate than has been achieved so far in the 5-year plan. The production and state purchase of cotton and all types of arable and livestock products will increase. It is planned to assimilate 100,000 hectares of new irrigated lands.

The tasks set in the speeches at the party Central Committee December Plenum by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Comrade N.A. Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, will undoubtedly be fulfilled. Specific measures will be taken to eliminate the shortcomings that have been noted. The 1984 plan indicators are geared toward further increasing the efficiency of the entire national economy, toward making fuller use of reserves and saving all kinds of resources, and toward observing contractual commitments regarding supplies. We fully support the proposals to approve the draft State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR and the draft USSR State Budget for 1984 as amended by the standing commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers.

At the same time the republic needs assistance from union organs in the resolution of some questions. A number of Uzbek associations and enterprises belonging to the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, the Ministry of Machine Building for the Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances, the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems, and the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building have fallen behind the 5-year plan control figures. We would ask the leaders of these ministries, in conjunction with the republic, to take additional measures to improve the use of capacities and to increase production at these associations and enterprises in 1984.

There is another problem whose solution is of very great importance to us. I refer to improving the supply of drinking water to a number of regions in the republic. There has been a sharp drop in the supply of fresh water in the lower reaches of the Amu Darya, the Syr Darya, the Zarafshan, and other rivers as a result of the shortage of water resources caused by the ever-increasing diversion of water for irrigation. Under these conditions the population of the Kara-Kalpak ASSR and Khorezm, Bukhara, Navoi, Syr Darya, and Surkhan Darya Oblasts are using highly mineralized water for their domestic and drinking needs. The provision of high quality water is linked to the construction of interrayon water supply systems based on the existing reservoirs and subterranean fresh water sources located in the foothills a considerable distance from consumers. More than 2,000 km of large diameter water conduits must be built. We would ask the USSR Gosplan to examine this question and to provide the necessary financial and material resources for the construction of the aforementioned installations in the 1984 and 1985 plans and in the 12th 5-Year Plan. A number of them should begin as early as next year.

Comrade deputies! The election campaign is being mounted on a broad scale now in the republic, as across the country as a whole, in an atmosphere of Soviet people's high political and labor activeness.

The USSR Supreme Soviet elections will be a vivid demonstration of the indestructible unity of our multinational country's peoples closely united around the dear Communist Party and its Leninist Central Committee.

Allow me to assure the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Soviet Government that Soviet Uzbekistan's working people will make 1984 a year of shock labor and will make a worthy contribution to strengthening our great motherland's economic and defense might.

Kazakhstan's Yesetov

PM161010 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Dec 83 p 3

[Text of speech by Deputy T. Yesetov, of the Kzyl-Orda Electoral Okrug, Kazakh SSR, first secretary of Kzyl-Orda Obkom, at the 28 December afternoon session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies! The Soviet people's splendid labor achievements in successfully implementing the historic decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the November (1982) and June (1983) Plenums of the party's Central Committee fill the heart of every one of us with a great sense of pride in our great motherland and in Lenin's party.

The results of the Central Committee plenum that has been held and the text of the speech of Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which are aimed at further improving our production efficiency and the Soviet people's living standards, have made a deep impression on us all. We will adopt these most important party political documents for strict guidance and execution.

The people's well-being and happiness are directly linked with ensuring lasting peace on earth. This is why we warmly approve Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov's statements and unanimously support our party's Leninist peace-loving policy. Soviet people will do everything to prevent a new conflagration of war. Let the Washington administration's crazy politicians know that they will never succeed in realizing their inhuman designs. This is guaranteed by the selfless labor of millions and the monolithic unity of our Leninist party, the great Soviet people, and the entire socialist community.

Comrades! The draft State Plan for Economic and Social Development and the USSR draft Budget for 1984 which were submitted for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet session fully and entirely reflect the aims and tasks mapped out by the 26th party congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums. They provide further evidence that there is no more important cause for the Communist Party and the Soviet state than concern for the people, for strengthening the economic and defense might of our beloved motherland and ensuring that all the fraternal republics of the land of soviets flourish.

Multinational Soviet Kazakhstan's working people are making a tangible contribution to the implementation of the communist building program. The republic's diversified industry has successfully fulfilled the plan for the first 3 years of the 5-year plan as regards the production of the most important types of industrial goods. During this year, which was most difficult for agriculture, the republic has made a great contribution to the country's food resources by delivering around 15 million metric tons of grain to the motherland's granaries, with strong, hard, and valuable wheat varieties accounting for more than 80 percent of the total. Kzyl-Orda Oblast working people, too, have greatly contributed to these achievements by the republic.

Thanks to all-around party and government assistance, wide-scale reclamation work has been conducted in the oblast in recent years. Major water arteries have been constructed land [inzhenerno-splanirovannyye zemli] have been commissioned.

On the basis of sharply improving farming standards, widely introducing progressive forms of labor organization, and making efficient use of land, water, equipment, and mineral fertilizers, there has been a considerable increase in the return per irrigated hectare. During the past 3 years alone the average annual volume of grain production and procurement has increased 32 percent compared with the same period of the 10th 5-Year Plan.

Rice growers achieved the greatest successes this year. Despite the difficulties created by the water shortage, they countered the whims of nature with their skill, will, and persistence and managed to overfulfill their plans and socialist pledges. More than 23 million goods of rice were sold to the state, with a yield of 48.2 quintals per hectare.

Still higher were the indicators of individual farms which handed over to the state between 100,000 and 170,000 quintals of rice at a yield of 60-70 quintals per hectare.

Dozens of rice growers, including hero-mothers Nagima Aymagambertova, mother of 15 children, and Hero of Socialist Labor Salima Zhumabekova, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, obtained 80-115 quintals of silvery grain per hectare.

All this has enabled our oblast to occupy one of the leading places among the rice-growing regions in terms of the volume of procurements of this valuable crop. Today we produce almost one-fifth of the rice in the country, and during the first 3 years of the 5-year plan we have emerged in second place after Krasnodar Kray by pouring more than 1 million metric tons into the motherland's granaries.

The oblast's melon growers have considerably overfulfilled their plans. Today their produce goes to more than 60 cities in the Soviet Union.

Good results have been achieved in the development of livestock raising. The volumes of production and sales to the state of livestock products have increased compared with the corresponding period of the 10th 5-Year Plan. By ensuring that every 100 ewes produce 117 lambs, for the first time in the history of the development of sheep raising the oblast obtained 1 million lambs. The 1983 plans for purchases of livestock, poultry, milk, eggs, and wool have been overfulfilled. At the same time growth in the numbers of all kinds of livestock has been ensured.

Simultaneously with the growth in production of agricultural products and the strengthening of the farms' economies profound changes are occurring in the living and domestic conditions of rural working people, and hundreds of thousands of square meters of housing and many sociocultural, consumer, and production projects have been constructed.

Comrade deputies! At the same time we are clearly aware that the economic results could be even more substantial if we were able to activate more fully all available reserves and potential. The diversity of yields and the low livestock productivity in individual farms and regions are a substantial shortcoming.

We are well aware that all this can and must be eliminated on the basis of further production intensification, the strictest economy and thrift, the strengthening of discipline, and the enhancement of organization and of everyone's responsibility for the fulfillment of the set plans -- toward which the CPSU Central Committee December (1983) Plenum decisions orient us.

Esteemed comrade deputies! In speaking of all this, mention must also be made of certain factors hampering the development of the economy which must be examined by the USSR Gosplan and union ministries if they are to be eliminated.

It is well known that the key problem in further boosting agricultural production in our conditions is irrigation and land reclamation. In accordance with the Food Program, a great role is allocated to the further development of rice growing in our oblast. In this connection an expert commission of the USSR Gosplan last May approved an adjusted scheme for the comprehensive utilization of Syr Darya Basin water resources, according to which the water supply limit in the lower reaches of the river was set at 12 cubic kilometers during normal years, and at 10 cubic kilometers during years when water levels are low.

Despite this, the USSR Ministries of Land Reclamation and Water Resources and of Agriculture are planning to let our oblast have only 7.7 cubic kilometers in 1984, which is by no means enough for the planned sowings of agricultural crops, not to mention other needs. Therefore we ask the USSR Gosplan to ensure the fulfillment of its own decision on this question.

Another problem is land. Since it was was commissioned -- that is, for more than 15 years -- irrigated land has been used without any essential repair and restoration work being carried out. Over large areas the surface of rice fields has become deformed and part of the land is even dropping out of circulation owing to the poor state of the soil. In order to prevent this, it is necessary to carry out large-scale rehabilitation of this land.

However, the volume of water resources construction work is getting smaller with every year and commissioning plans are regularly not being met. The chief reason is the weakness of the material and technical base. There are not enough excavators, bulldozers, or scrapers. In connection with the situation that has been created we earnestly entreat Comrade Nikolay Fedorovich Vasilyev, USSR minister of land reclamation and water resources, to help match the pool of earthmoving machines and machinery of the oblast's water resource trusts with the planned volumes of reclamation work.

And another question. Taking into account the need to sharply increase rice production, the directive organs have adopted a special resolution which provides for the construction of the Kzylordarismash Plant for the production of special rice harvesting machinery. The first building of this plant has been commissioned ahead of schedule, and the collective has produced the first 150 ZHRK-5 mounted rice headers, which showed themselves to advantage in the gathering of this year's harvest and elicited a positive response. For incomprehensible reason, however, the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building plans to commission only half as many production capacities in the 12th 5-Year Plan. In our view it would be expedient if the Kzylordarismash Plant was included in the list of most important projects approved by the USSR Council of Ministers.

Comrade deputies! I subscribe to the proposals advanced to approve and confirm the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR and the USSR State Budget for 1984.

Allow me to assure the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Soviet Government that Kzyl-Orda Oblast working people, like all the Soviet people, will spare no effort and energy to achieve new labor victories in 1984 and the 11th 5-Year Plan as a whole and will thus make a worthy contribution to the implementation of their dear Communist Party's plans. (applause)

SUPREME SOVIET CANDIDATE ADOPTIONS REPORTED

PM171309 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 January 1984 First Edition carries on pages 1 and 2 a TASS report headed "Unanimous Support," reporting 16 January okrug election meetings to adopt candidates for the USSR Supreme Soviet elections. Each of the nine meetings is reported as adopting two candidates, with Andropov receiving seven joint adoptions, and Tikhonov and Chernenko one each.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS WORKERS DISMISSED FOR BRIBE-TAKING

PM160912 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 84 Morning Edition p 3

[Letter from V. Fedorchuk, USSR minister of internal affairs: "IZVESTIYA Has Spoken Out. What Has Been Done?" -- IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] A USSR MVD check has established that the facts reported in the lampoon "Shadow on Bazaar Day" published in IZVESTIYA Nos 296 and 297 did take place.

Kozhonov and Tokoldoshev, who work at the Kantskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department State Automobile Inspection, Kirghiz SSR, and Sultanaliyev, a militiaman from the same rayon Internal Affairs Department, have been dismissed from the internal affairs organs for receiving bribes, and criminal proceedings have been instituted against them. Baynazarov, chief of the Kirghiz SSR MVD State Automobile Inspection Administration, and Karimbayev, chief of the Kanskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department State Automobile Inspection, have been dismissed.

The USSR MVD is taking measures to nip in the bud instances of the unjustified delay of transport facilities and violations of socialist legality by internal affairs organ workers.

NEW WATER INSPECTOR ON CONSERVATION, POLLUTION

PM161651 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 January 1984 Morning Edition published on page 3, under the heading "Chief State Inspector for the Regulation and Conservation of the USSR's Water Resources with the Rank of USSR Deputy Minister of Land Reclamation and Water Resources," an 800-word interview with Loginov by V. Zakharko and A. Kuchushev. Having outlined his duties in ensuring that water conservation and antipollution measures are observed and described how these measures are enforced locally, Loginov emphasises that water must be used thriftily. In a reply to a question about progress in decontaminating the water of the river Dnestr, polluted as a result of an accident at a Lvov Oblast Potassium Plant, he says that the river's condition is not improving" as rapidly as we would all like, but it is improving. The worst is behind us. It is important not to allow anything similar to happen again, and I do not have only the Dnestr in mind." He asserts that he will make full use of his right "to suspend the production of sustances polluting water expanses and the right to issue and repeal authorization for the use of water and to order the closure of enterprises which are causing damage to nature," eventhrough he is aware of the difficulties he will face in doing so.

SHALAYEV ADDRESSES SIXTH AUCCTU PLENUM

PM161601 Moscow TRUD in Russian 12 Jan 84 pp 1-2

["Abridged" account of speech delivered by S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU, at the Sixth AUCCTU Plenum on 11 January; place not given]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee plenum and the Ninth USSR Supreme Soviet Session, held at the end of last year, examined the questions "On the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1984" and "On the USSR State Budget for 1984." The Central Committee plenum decisions and the laws adopted by the session outlined ways for further developing and improving the efficiency of social production and increasing the people's well-being and measures stipulating everything necessary to maintain the country's defense capability at the required level.

Describing in detail the main provisions of the country's State Plan and Budget for 1984, Comrade Shalayev noted that they vividly demonstrate once again the party's determination to follow undeviatingly the course which was elaborated by the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum aimed at increasing the dynamism and degree of organization in our society's further economic and social development and at providing Soviet people with all the conditions for peaceful labor. The trade unions, like all Soviet people, unanimously approve and ardently support this course of the party, the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee December (1982) Plenum, and the propositions and conclusions regarding the basic guidelines for the further development of the national economy contained in the text of Comrade Yu.V. Andropov's speech.

Labor collectives, in accordance with the new USSR law on increasing their role in the management of enterprises, institutions, and organizations took an active part with trade union organs in elaborating the 1984 plan. The reports of the USSR Gosplan and the RSFSR Gosplan on the draft plans were discussed at enlarged sessions of the AUCCTU Presidium with the participation of leaders of all sectorial trade union central committees and many republic, oblast, and kray trade union councils.

The USSR Gosplan and the State Committee for Science and Technology supported the trade unions' proposals on a number of questions directly linked with accelerating the pace of scientific and technical progress, mechanizing manual and heavy physical work, and further improving work conditions and labor protection, and other questions.

The keynote speaker went on to dwell on the specific tasks of the country's trade unions. Each labor collective -- on the basis of the Central Committee plenum decisions -- is now outlining the ways, means, and methods which will achieve the goals outlined in the plan for 1984 and the targets contained in them for saving all types of resources, materials, and energy, increasing labor productivity, and increasing output of consumer goods. Extra reserves are being sought to ensure uninterrupted work by enterprises and associations, and national economic sectors as a whole. And it is the most immediate and most urgent task of all trade union organs -- ranging from the trade union group and the primary organization's trade union committee all the way to the AUCCTU -- to take a direct and active part in this work under the leadership of party organizations and to mount socialist competition on the wide scale to fulfill and overfulfill the targets for 1984 and the 5-year plan as a whole and to achieve high production results.

Comrade Yu.V. Andropov's speech set a specific task: to try to achieve this year a 1-percent increase in labor productivity over and above the plan and an additional 0.5-percent reduction in the prime cost of output and to regard this as an extra target for the party over and above the plan.

Thousands of labor collectives of leading enterprises in the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Latvia, and other republics, and in Moscow, Leningrad, and other industrial centers have already adopted counterplans and intensive socialist pledges for the 4th year of the 5-year plan.

The Sergo Ordzhonokidze Machine Tool Building Plant Production Association and the Krasnyy Poligrafmash Plant, the Novolipetsk Metallurgical Combine, the Kommunist Mine (Donbass), the Tbilisi G. Dimitrov Aviation Plant, the Orekhov Cotton Combine, the Novosibirsk Ob Leather Footwear Association, and many other enterprises and associations have emerged as initiators of socialist competition to achieve the 1-percent labor productivity increase in excess of the plan and the additional 0.5-percent reduction in prime cost of output.

A large group of production teams, leading workers and kolkhoz members, and shock workers of communist labor have adopted very intensive socialist pledges to greet the USSR Supreme Soviet elections in a fitting manner, fulfill the 1984 targets ahead of schedule, and ensure a high quality of work. They include L.A. Karaganov's team from the Moscow No 1 State Bearing Plant Production Association, V.A. Zhogolev's team from the Krasnoye Sormovo Plant, Hero of Socialist Labor N.P. Chudenikov's team from the Sverdlovsk Instrument Plant, stockraisers from the Gory-2 Livestock Unit and the Gorskiy Sovkhoz, Moscow Oblast, and leading workers of a number of enterprises of the textile and light industry, including USSR State Prizewinner R.A. Gavrilova, USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy G.G. Bedareva, Hero of Socialist Labor L.I. Fokina, and others.

Six hundred and thirty teams and 23,000 workers of the Lithuanian SSR and working people of many other republics, krays, and oblasts have pledged to fulfill the quarterly targets by USSR Supreme Soviet election day.

Many workers and kolkhoz members, who are members and candidate members of the AUCCTU and members of the trade unions' Central Auditing Commission, have adopted high counterplans and socialist pledges for 1984. TRUD carries reports on the initiative and remarkable enterprise of some of them.

This competition must be further developed at a high level and the shortcomings in its organization and in the summarizing of its results, which were noted by the recent CPSU Central Committee resolution on this question, must be resolutely eliminated. It is necessary to direct competition, as the party demands, toward improving work quality, accelerating the pace of labor productivity growth and reducing the prime cost of output, promptly fulfilling deliveries in accordance with contracts and orders, and accelerating scientific and technical progress.

One of the main tasks of socialist competition must be to develop the pace of economic growth adopted in 1983 and the general inclination to resolve tasks practically. It is important to make provisions in pledges for measures of the broad dissemination of progressive management methods and of the achievements of collectives and production innovators which have been victorious in socialist competition, including the achievements of enterprises and associations which have managed to fulfill the targets for production volume growth without increasing the number of workers.

A very important trend in socialist competition in 1984 is the utmost development of the movement for economy and thrift.

After the 17th trade union congress, the keynote speaker stressed, a program for trade union participation in resolving tasks for saving raw materials, semimanufactures, and fuel and energy resources in 1982-1985 was adopted. It outlined all the forms of organizational and educational work, primarily through socialist competition, for trying to ensure that each enterprise and each labor collective works for at least 2 days annually using the material resources saved over and above the plan.

Accumulated experience attests that this task is realistic and within trade unions' capabilities. Last year, over 8,000 enterprises worked for 2 days or more using resources saved over and above the plan. The keynote speaker referred here to the experience of the collectives of the Azot association (Severodonstsk), Elektrosila (Leningrad), and a number of enterprises of Kharkov, Perm, and Saratov Oblasts, which achieved appreciable results in saving material and technical resources. The electrical equipment industry ensured the planned increase in production volume without any increase in metal consumption in the first 3 years of the 5-year plan.

Now, in light of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee December Plenum, trade unions are tasked with developing this movement even more persistently. At the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov set the task of opening special thrift records for enterprises, construction projects, sovkhozes, and all organizations, and actively encouraging those who achieve the best results. It is the duty of USSR trade unions, all trade union organs, and all trade union organizations to see to it that these records are opened now, at the very start of the year.

A number of sectorial trade unions and their central committees have their own special trade unions and their centeral committees have their own special tasks, arising from the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee plenum. Thus, the Metallurgical Industry Workers Trade Union must focus efforts on the struggle to improve quality and expand production of the most economic and effective types of metal products and on the fuller recovery of metal at all stages of raw material processing. The Chemical and Petrochemical Industry Workers Trade Union must mobilize working people to intensify technological processes, achieve design capacities as rapidly as possible, and increase on this basis the output of progressive types of chemical products, concentrated and composite mineral fertilizers, and effective chemical plant protection agents. The trade unions in machine building sectors must focus the efforts of working people on increasing the putput of new, more productive and economical types of machines and equipment, instruments, and automation equipment.

The construction, transport, agricultural, trade and public catering, and consumer service workers' trade unions and trade unions in all the other national economic sectors have their own tasks. These features must be fully taken into account by trade union central committee and councils and enterprise trade union committees when organizing socialist competition in 1984.

As the 26th party congress stressed, counterplans should be regarded as of the utmost importance in socialist competition. They enable labor collectives to more actively uncover and utilize reserves for improving the qualitative and quantitative indicators of work. This is demonstrated by the experience of the collectives of the Kuybyshev No 4 State Bearing Plant, the Moscow Automotive Electrical Equipment Plant (ATE-1), and a number of other enterprises and associations. The adoption and fulfillment of counterplans is also beneficial to labor collectives which are being provided with increased economic incentive funding.

However, the number of enterprises and associations adopting counterplans remains insignificant to date.

This shows the serious shortcomings of economic organs and incomplete work on the part of trade union organs which, in light of the CPSU Central Committee plenum decisions, must be firmly eliminated. Substantial additions are being made to the counterplanning procedure in 1984 to create all the conditions necessary to enable each labor collective to adopt a counterplan.

On behalf of the plenum participants, Comrade Shalayev appealed to all labor collectives in industry, construction, agriculture, transport, and the services sphere to respond to the CPSU Central Committee December Plenum's decisions by adopting intensive counterplans for 1984, particularly by increasing labor productivity, reducing output prime cost, improving output quality in excess of the plan target, saving material resources, and increasing production above the plan target by using local resources.

It is incumbent on trade union central committees and councils and trade union organizations to do everything in their power to make full use of counterplanning as a major reserve for the successful fulfillment and overfulfillment of the 1984-1985 state plans and for the fulfillment of the 11th 5-Year Plan as a whole.

The CPSU Central Committee December (1983) Plenum and the ninth USSR Supreme Soviet Session stressed that the Soviet economy's rate of development, the raising of its efficiency, and the resolution of social problems depend to a great extent on the pace of scientific progress in the national economy and on the successful fulfillment of CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions on this question.

In this respect the country's trade unions must work more persistently to mobilize the scientific and technical community and production innovators in the struggle to accelerate the pace of scientific and tehcnical progress and to reduce the time taken to create scientific and technical achievements and to put them into production.

The All-Union Council of Scientific and Technical Societies, the All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers Central Committee, trade union committees and councils, and the boards and councils of local societies and trade union committees must radically improve organizational work for the further development of working people's technical creativity and the introduction of new equipment, technology, inventions, and rationalizers' suggestions, and for resolving these questions more consistently together with planning organs, the State Committee for Science and Tehcnology, ministries, and departments.

The speaker subsequently dwelled on questions of trade unions' involvement in work to reduce the use of manual labor. This work is still not being done actively everywhere and does not always achieve the desired effect. The responsibility for this situation must be borne by trade union organs as well as all-union and union republic ministries and departments and in particular by the central committees of trade unions in the coal and metallurgical industries, heavy machine building, construction, and the construction materials industry which have been tackling this important problem without the requisite initiative and persistence.

It is the duty of trade unions, in conjunction with economic organs, to fulfill the exacting target for reducing manual and heavy physical labor and with this aim in mind to make the utmost use of the technical and material potential of each enterprise and of the sector as a whole, the creative initiative of design and technological cadres, and the proposals of rationalizers and inventors. It is necessary to strive more persistently to increase the production of equipment and instruments needed to mechanize manual and heavy physical work, particularly construction, the handling of materials, loading and unloading work, and warehouse work.

The further development of the team form of labor organization and labor incentives is one of the main avenues of the struggle for the successful fulfillment of targets set for 1984 and the 5-year plan as a whole for increasing labor productivity and improving production efficiency. Resolutions on this question adopted recently by the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the AUCCTU stress the ever increasing role of teams in the solution of economic and social tasks. At many associations and enterprises teams have already become the main primary cell of labor collectives which exert a significant influence on the growth of production efficiency.

Distracted by the quantitative aspect of the matter, however, both economic and trade union organs have clearly overlooked the other more important -- qualitative -- aspect and the creation for teams of the necessary conditions for highly efficient work.

In light of the CPSU Central Committee December (1983) Plenum decisions, the task is to ensure a radical shift in all trade union and economic organizations' work in 1984 toward introducing autonomous financing into teams and stepping up their role in the campaign for high labor productivity, more rational utilization of raw and semi-finished materials and fuel and energy resources, and strong labor and production discipline.

Comrade Shalayev also stressed the need to create a trade union group within each team and to enhance the role of trade union groups in running the affairs of teams and in the creation of a good comradely and exacting atmosphere.

The experiment being conducted in a number of ministries to broaden the rights of production associations (enterprises) in planning and economic activity and to increase their responsibility for work results should be an important stage in improving production efficiency. The AUCCTU secretariat, the central committees of the relevant trade unions, the Ukrainian, Belorussian, and Lithuanian trade union councils, and the trade union organizations of enterprises and associations taking part in the experiment must examine all the related questions as quickly as possible and ensure the active participation of every primary organization in the experiment. Trade union committees must be given professional assistance in getting through to each worker and employee of an association or enterprise, in explaining to them clearly the aims of the experiment, and in teaching them to make fuller use of the potential contained in the new economic mechanism for improving the indicators of economic activity and developing working people's creative initiative and their direct involvement in production management and in the solution of the most important questions of the collective's social development.

In his speech at the CPSU Central Committee December (1983) Plenum, Comrade Yu.V. Andropov noted any successes in the development of production are duly appreciated when they result in an improvement in people's prosperity. The past year provided quite a lot of clear evidence of this. The 1984 plan is marked by an even more clearly expressed social trend. The entire planned increase in national income in the current year will be channeled into raising the people's living standard.

Among the measures to further increase the people's prosperity, the implementation of the Food Program still requires special attention. Trade Union councils and committees have recently begun tackling to a greater extent and in a more specific way questions of developing socialist competition, introducing the team contract in the countryside and other progressive forms of labor organization and labor incentives, improving the rural population's social and consumer conditions, and creating enterprises' subsidiary farms.

It is necessary not only to consolidate the positive trends that have been noticed in agricultural development but also to scale higher peaks, to make the maximum use of the favorable feed conditions that were created this winter, and to show constant care for the next harvest, the prompt repair of the machine and tractor pool, and the training and retraining of machine operator cadres by using all the available training means. It is necessary to thoroughly improve the utilization of reclaimed land. The considerably increased efforts of the Agricultural Workers' Trade Union Central Committee and of all trade union councils and committees must be geared toward implementing the programs for the social restructuring of the countryside.

Supplying the market with the requisite industrial goods remains an urgent task, the speaker went on to note. It is necessary to constantly increase the production and improve the quality of goods and to develop the services sphere intensively in order to totally eliminate the shortage of both goods and services.

Trade union councils, committees and their consumer goods commissions are faced with the task of using all forms of trade union work to direct labor collectives' attention toward increasing production and ensuring the high quality of consumer goods, the necessary range of these goods and of helping to eliminate shortcomings in this matter. It is necessary to make more active use of the aviation industry, automotive, tractor, and agricultural machine building trade union central committees and of the Belorussian, Latvian, Novosibirsk, Korov, Penza, and Sverdlovsk Trade Union Councils where trade union organizations are doing purposeful work to develop the production of consumer goods and to strengthen businesslike cooperation between production collectives and trade enterprise collectives.

Following the CPSU Central Committee December (1983) Plenum, many labor collectives have already put forward initiatives aimed at supplying the market more rapidly with high-quality consumer goods. The trade unions' task is to comprehensively support these remarkable initiatives and to increase the number of their successors.

The CPSU Central Committee December Plenum displayed a high degree of exactingness regarding questions on the construction of housing, schools, hospitals, preschool institutions, and communal and consumer projects. While increasing the responsibility of economic and trade union organizations for the situation in housing and cultural-consumer construction, it is necessary to strive to secure the all-around and complete fulfillment of the plans in this sphere.

There have been quite a few examples where specific work by trade union central committees and councils has radically changed the state of affairs in the construction of socioconsumer projects. Thus when fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Work of the Heavy Machine Building Workers' Trade Union Central Committee," the central committee of the sectoral trade union and the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building approved by joint decision those executives of the ministry of the trade union central committee who were to be personally responsible for the commissioning of apartment blocks and sociocultural and consumer projects in 1983. Enterprise directors and trade union committees have been instructed to set up a construction monitoring staff at each enterprise. A high degree of activeness has been shown by working people themselves who took part in completing the construction of apartment blocks. This approach made it possible to improve the state of affairs considerably and to fulfill the 1983 plan for the commissioning of housing and cultural-consumer projects in the sector.

The greater the space assigned in the country's national economic plans to measures for improving working people's housing, communal-consumer, and medical services and to expanding trade and public catering, the greater the concomitant obligations of the trade union organizations and the greater their degree of responsibility for achieving the new and increasingly high targets outlined by the party and the state in society's social development, the speaker stressed.

The efficient organization of all work both centrally and locally, the mobilization of the masses for the implementation of the plan, and people's and responsible creative attitude to the task at hand are the prime conditions for ensuring the fulfillment of the 1984 plan. The party's demand -- to raise the standard of organizational work and improve its style -- applies fully to trade unions. It was also given specific form in the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Work of the Heavy Machine Building Workers' Trade Union Central Committee."

In the months since the adoption of this resolution, trade union central committees and councils have done some work to eliminate the shortcomings noted in it and to improve the organizational work style. However, many leading trade union organs are still not carrying out an adequate examination of the very important questions of economic development, are not showing the necessary exactingness and persistence in resolving social and consumer questions, do not always evaluate the results of their own activity critically, and sometimes treat matters superficially. The efforts of the electoral aktiv and the trade union apparatus are often spent mainly on the formulation of packages of measures and decisions whereas their fulfillment is not properly ensured and the necessary organizational work with people is not performed.

The speaker was sharply critical of those trade union central committees and councils which have been permitting formalism in the organization of socialist competition and in summarizing its results which is seriously damaging the prestige and educational role of labor competition.

Comrade Shalayev paid particular attention to questions of strengthening labor discipline and to intensifying the struggle to establish order and organization in production. Some trade union organizations have turned work on strengthening labor discipline into a brief campaign and, after achieving a certain success, have relaxed and have slackened the measures of social influence on violators of labor discipline. In this connection the report criticized those trade union organs which tolerate violations of working people's labor and leisure regimes and on these occasions do not show the necessary exactingness toward economic leaders.

Comrade Shalayev recalled the fourth AUCCTU plenum's decision to adopt urgent measures to regulate the work regime of enterprises, organizations, and institutions engaged in providing services to the population so as to enable working people to avail themselves of them outside work time, in the evening, and on days off. He also recalled decisions about ending the practice of holding meetings, seminars, rallies, sports competitions, amateur talent shows, commission sessions, and other social events in work time. Many trade union councils and committees and the cultural and sports organizations under their jurisdiction have drawn the necessry conclusions from this, the speaker noted. Many, but not all -- violations of this kind have been occurring specifically in Ulyanov and Vladimir Oblasts, Armenia, Kirghizia, and Moldavia, and at the Spartak, Trud, Zenit, Sevan, and Burevestnik voluntary sports societies.

The level of discipline and responsibility of trade union cadres for the fulfillment of decisions and assignments should be firmly raised. Raising the standard of organizational activity and of the efficient cooperation between trade union links from trade union committees to the AUCCTU is an urgent task of all work.

It is the duty of the multimillion aktiv, the members of the elected trade union organs, and members and candidate members of the AUCCTU to set the tone and show a worthy personal example in work, to do everything to develop the economy and social relations and improve people's life, and to be guided undeviatingly in everything by high Leninist principles.

An important feature of 1984, the keynote speaker went on to say, is that it is USSR Supreme Soviet election year -- a major political event in the life of the Soviet State.

Trade union organizations must direct the educational and organizational work they do during the election campaign toward further strengthening the unity of the party and people and mobilizing working people of struggle to implement the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee December (1983) Plenum, and must make maximum use of the election campaign with a view to mounting socialist competition to successfully fulfill and overfulfill the plan for 1984.

Soviet trade unions and all our country's working people wholly support the CPSU's clear and consistent domestic and foreign policy and welcomed with great understanding and unanimous approval Comrade Yu.V. Andropov's statements of 28 September and 24 November 1983, which provided a profound and comprehensive assessment of the causes of the current complexity of the international situation and confirmed the Soviet Union's vital line of maintaining and consolidating peace, curbing the arms race, and expanding and deepening cooperation among states.

As the resolution, adopted by the ninth session of the country's Supreme Soviet, points out, the Soviet Union's peace-loving foreign policy will continue to be reliably grounded on the selfless labor of the whole people, closely rallied around the Communist Party.

"In conditions of an international atmosphere sharply aggravated through the fault of aggressive imperialist circles," Yu.V. Andropov noted in the text of this speech at the CPSU Central Committee plenum, "the strict fulfillment of the state plan is not merely an obligation, but the patriotic duty of every Soviet person and every labor collective."

On behalf of the participants on the AUCCTU plenum, S.A. Shalayev assured the C SU Central Committee that Soviet trade unions understand their task in the light of the CPSU Central Committee December Plenum decisions in such a way that they will spare no efforts to make their own weighty contribution to the successful fulfillment of the plan of the 4th year of the 5-year plan and to the struggle to maintain peace on earth.

BRIEFS

BELORUSSIAN OFFICIAL RETIRES -- The Belorussian Supreme Soviet Presidium has decreed that Comrade Stanislav Antonovich Pilotovich be released from the post of deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers in connection with his retirement. For his long and active work in party and government organs. Comrade Politovich has been awarded the honorary scroll of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet. [Text] [Minsk Domestic Service in Belorussian 1300 GMT 13 Dec 83 LD]

BELORUSSIAN JUSTICES RELEASED -- Papers carry a decree of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet Presidium that Vladimir Vasilyevich Pylchenko has been released from his duties as a member of the Supreme Court of the Belorrussian SSR. [Text] [Minsk Domestic Service in Belorussian 0645 GMT 13 Dec 83 LD]

USSR ACQUIRES WESTERN TECHNOLOGICAL METHODS

WA161924 Paris DEFENSE NATIONALE in French Dec 83 pp 107-121

[Article by Henri Regnard: "The USSR and Scientific, Technical, and Technological Intelligence"]

[Text] The author of this article is a high-ranking civil servant who provides us with an account of his experiences and recently acquired knowledge. This subject directly involves national defense.

On Wednesday, 27 October 1982, speaking to the leaders of the Soviet Armed Forces, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev emphasized "the worsening of the international situation." He said: "The United States has raised the intensity of its military preparations to an unprecedented level." Speaking of internal objectives, the late secretary general of the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] stated that to strengthen the USSR's defense: "We are undergoing a period when the combat readiness of the Army and the Fleet must be raised even further. It is necessary to know how to act, in view of the progress made by science and the military arts. The Soviet Army must be ready in all fields: equipment, structure, and methods of preparation for combat. The struggle in terms of military technology, has noticeably intensified, and it often takes a particularly new form. Lagging behind in this struggle is unacceptable. We count on our scientists, our builders, our engineers and technicians to do everything possible to carry out effectively the tasks that flow from changes that are occurring."

This was the last speech made by Brezhnev, who died on 10 November 1982.

This challenge, made by the former secretary general of the CPSU, was addressed less to the United States than to the Soviet economy, whose shortcomings have affected the USSR's whole defense system. The sharpness of the crisis, which has repercussions in a vital sector, no doubt has prompted the Kremlin leaders to order a careful review of the situation. In an article published in 1982 by the Ministry of Defense, Marshal Nikolay Vasilyevich Ogarkov, chief of the general staff, mentions several appropriate objectives: "the coordinated mobilization of the Armed Forces and the national economy, the constitution of stocks of machine tools and raw materials, and finally the acquisition of necessary modern technology." Consequently, this raises clearly and in relatively new terms the problem of technology transfer from the West to the East, and of the scientific and technical espionage the USSR is carrying on in the West -- particularly in Europe -- to develop its military and industrial complex.

On the basis of our experience and of intelligence collected in France over the last few months, it is possible to get a concrete and precise idea of the Soviet system for collecting scientific, technical, and technological intelligence, of its basic philosophy, and of the way it functions.

The extent of the system established and the variety of methods used cast light strikingly on the extreme vulnerability of the West -- France in particular -- to these efforts, particularly because of facilities for access to openly available documentation. This may be normal, but it is certainly less normal when classified documents are concerned. Another factor is the almost complete freedom in our democracies in terms of East-West trade.

The need and even urgency to obtain an idea of this ceaselessly growing form of aggression is the first condition for developing an appropriate response. The stakes involved are very important for the West. Is it necessary to emphasize this?

The system that controls the conception and implementation of the Soviet intelligence plan for the collection of scientific, technical, and technological intelligence may seem complex and unduly awkward in itself. Nevertheless, we must become aware of how well it functions and of its formidable efficiency.

The USSR and Scientific, Technical, and Technological Intelligence

We have evidence that, under the direction and control of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and of the USSR Council of Ministers, the different ministries related to military industry, as well as state committees and institutes of the civilian sector -- although the latter to a lesser degree -- annually prepare many requests for submission to the Military Industrial Commission (VPK) of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers. (Footnote 1) (VPK: Voyenno-promyshlennaya kommissiya [Military Industrial Commission])

This committee, which in fact supervises Soviet military industry, serves as a center for processing the requests formulated by the ministries, state committees, and institutes. It combines and redistributes them to intelligence collection bodies in the form of specific missions. The objectives defined in this way are closely coordinated with the GKNT, (Footnote 2) (GKNT: Gossudarstvennyy komitet po nauke i tekhnike [State Committee for Science and Technology]) which initiates and supervises the complex network of international agreements that the USSR enters into with the most advanced industrial countries.

It has been established that intelligence collection is not the function solely of the KGB and the GRU. (Footnote 3) (KGB: Komitet gossudarstvennoy bezopastnosti [Committee for State Security]; GRU: Glavnoye razvedyvatel'noye upravleniye [Principal Intelligence Directorate]) Other Soviet government services, whose natural function is not intelligence collection, nevertheless have a role in this function. It is interesting to note that the KGB and the GRU, which are distinct services, have the same status as these other services in performing this specific mission. These other services are the GKNT, the Academy of Sciences, and the Ministry of Foreign Trade. That is a reality still unknown to many Western political leaders, scientists, technicians, and business leaders.

Structures for the Collection of Scientific, Technical, and Technological Intelligence

According to Article 6 of the 1977 Soviet Constitution, the CPSU is "the force which leads and orients Soviet society. It defines the general view of the development of society."

As a Soviet decisionmaking organ, the Central Committee has a role in stimulating and orienting action that it exercises through its commissions and departments. The Central Committee defines policies to be followed, particularly in scientific and technical areas.

Developing this policy are several commissions on "mechanical construction," "defense industry," "chemical industry," "light and food industry," "heavy industry," "science and educational establishments," and above all the "international section" of the Central Committee, closely linked with the KGB, which supervises the governmental system and provides documentary support to the Political Bureau.

The Military Industrial Commission (VPK) of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers is an organ for technical direction. Presided over by Leonid Vasilyevich Smirnov, a vice-president of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is assisted by Nikolay Sergeyevich Stroyev and by Chuprin, director of the secretariat, it

is most often identified by the initials "VPK," that is, "Military Industrial Commission." It is composed of 12 cabinet ministers, each in charge of a ministry directly or indirectly concerned with military industry. The fact of the existence, composition, and level of this commission gives the Red Army the right of total pre-eminence over all scientific, technical, and technological intelligence.

The VPK's powers are as follows: it decrees "operational decisions" on which ministerial orders are based. These are intended to ensure the elimination of certain errors or shortcomings that arise in the implementation of programs or in the course of manufacturing and are intended to implement work as ordered, studies, and development of the "provisions" [fournitures] received. Elsewhere the VPK confirms instructions relative to "principal objectives" and "missions" developed by ministries related to military industry.

At the level of executive organs or, in simpler terms, the search for intelligence in the field (in the West), a many-faceted system with an aggressive outlook, has been set up by the Soviets to pick up and collect the maximum amount of advanced technologies -- all of them, after all, destined for use in Soviet military industry. In fact, the Soviets have begun using the West as an innovative data bank. It should be appreciated that in their terminology they distinguish between five "acquisition departments," that is, bodies charged with the "acquisition" of intelligence. These include espionage and scientific, technical, and technology intelligence available in the West.

Presided over by Viktor Mikhaylovich Chebrikov, the KGB is a state committee directly subordinate to the USSR Council of Ministers. Within it is Directorate T of the 1st Principal Directorate, whose mission is achieving the "provision of special information," particularly relative to nuclear research, missiles, the space program, cybernetics, and industrial technology in general. Because of its importance, Directorate T has an essential and special place at the center of the Soviet organization for the collection of scientific, technical, and technological intelligence. In particular it has numerous and permanent representatives in "Residencies" in Western countries, that is, espionage posts abroad. For the most part, they operate under diplomatic cover.

The GRU is headed by Army General Petr Ivanovich Ivashchutin. It has "operational sections" and more especially a "scientific and technical intelligence section," whose mission is to obtain military and scientific information for military use. Less numerous than their civilian opposite numbers in the KGB, the military officers of the GRU are also represented abroad and also have diplomatic cover.

The GKNT has Guriy Ivanovich Marchuk as chairman and Dzhermen Mikhaylovich Gvishiana as vice-chairman. Its authority is divided between the development of fundamental research and its industrial application. It is charged with ensuring the application of government-approved policy in the area of scientific and technological development. It also has the task of checking out foreign markets to discover advanced technology which might be adapted or inserted in the Soviet production apparatus.

Among its particular missions are the organization of scientific, technical, and technological intelligence collection at the national level, as well as the maintenance of international cooperation in research and the acquisition of Western technology. This double mission has been turned over to the "Department for Relations With Foreign Countries" of the GKNT, which is composed of KGB and GRU officers. (For example, there are Lev Borisovich Burdyukov, a KGB officer who directs the GKNT section for foreign scientific liaison, and Fedor Konstantinovich Mortin, who directs scientific and industrial cooperation in the GKNT.)

Headed by Anatoliy Petrovich Aleksandrov, the USSR Academy of Sciences is an organism directly subordinate to the Council of Ministers, charged with basic research (mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, and the study of space and the earth) and with scientific research directly influencing the development of production. The Presidium of the Academy of Sciences decides on basic directions in the material sciences. It coordinates this work at the same time it prepares the budget and the plan for providing its own establishments with "provisions." Under this heading the Academy of Sciences also has "special channels" through which it acquires "special information provisions."

Nikolay Semenovich Patolichev is the minister of foreign trade. His ministry, the organ for planning, coordinating, and controlling foreign trade, should be distinguished from the State Committtion for Foreign Economic Relations, the GKES. (Footnote 4) (GKES: Gossudarstvennyy komitet po edonomicheskim svyazyam [State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations])

Differing from the preceding intelligence "acquisition departments," it has the task of obtaining scientific, technical, and technological intelligence through "official channels." In effect the Soviets think that, to obtain certain kinds of technology, it is enough simply to negotiate for it or to buy it, with recourse to espionage. Even in this case the Ministry of Foreign Trade used its position on behalf of the Military Industrial Commission (VPK). Within this ministry two sections are more specifically charged with missions of "trade relations with western countries" (under Leonid Savich Yezhov) and "the importation of machinery and material from capitalist countries" (under Petr Vasilyevich Mikheyev). It has a large network of trade offices, joint companies, and purchasing missions, whose officials are particularly skillful in searching for and obtaining Western technical and technological "provisions" needed for the Soviet economy.

The GKES, the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, operates under the Ministry of Foreign Trade. It also has the task of searching for and obtaining intelligence through "official channels," that is, through purchasing missions, by product or specialty, over which it exercises supervision.

In the search for intelligence the KGB and the GRU are the most active.

Structures for the Exploitation of Intelligence

"Special intelligence provisions," in the form of samples and documents obtained by the five "acquisition departments," are sent for exploitation to the nine ministries directly linked to military industry (MOOP): (Footnote 5) (MOOP: Ministerstva oboronnykh otrasley promyshlennosti [Ministries Related to War Industry]) the Ministries of Aviation Industry, Machine Building [Constructions Mecaniques], Defense Industry, General Machine Building [Constructions Mecaniques Generales], Communications Equipment Industry [Industrie des Transmissions], Radio Industry, Medium Machine Building [Constructions Mecaniques Moyennes], Naval Construction Industry, Electronics Industry, Chemical Industry, Electrotechnical Industry, and Petrochemical Industry.

Many contacts on the results of this intelligence collection effort take place among the various ministries concerned. Within each of them intelligence exploitation is controlled by the "Central Organization of Special Technical Services" (TsOSTS), made up of all of the directors of Special Technical Services (STS), (Footnote 6) (TsOSTS: Tsentral'naya organizatsiya spetsial'nykh tekhnicheskikh sluzhb [Central Organization of Special Technical Services]) located in each production unit of the industrial branch.

At the ministeral level, meetings of experts bringing together sectional representatives of the scientific and technical councils, are held in which the work done by the principal directorates of each ministry, as well as the work done by the enterprises or factories under it, is examined.

There are other structures for intelligence exploitation. Usually, the ministries turn over the exploitation of "special information provisions" that reach them to specialized organisms under their supervision: institutes of scientific research (NII), (Footnote 7) (NII: Naucho-issledovatel'skiy institut [Institute of Scientific Research]) pilot study bureaus, scientific production units, and research centers. On the basis of these "provisions," documents, and samples obtained, these various organs undertake "research work" to resolve problems that face the industrial branch concerned, to satisfy its needs and to correct its errors.

The GKNT, the State Committee for Science and Technology, operates not only at the research level but also at the exploitation level in the sense that it coordinates planning of scientific research and development at the experiemental stage in institutes of scientific research and pilot study bureaus, and also in the sense that it controls application of the scientific and technological acquisitions in industry.

Control of the exploitation structures is handled by the technical center at the VIMI (Footnote 8) (VIMI: Vsesoyznyy nauchno-issledsvatel'skiy institut mezhotraslevoy informatsii [National Institute of Inter-Branch Information]) -- the director of its technical center is Valentin Pavlovich Erin -- which also plays the role of transmission belt. The "acquisition departments" provide it with "special information provisions." It records them, studies the interest they may have, and only after this is done does it send them to the consumer ministries. Elsewhere, it checks on the decisions by the Special Technical Services (STS) to bring research and pilot study work into contact with them as a function of the value of the "special information provisions" received. Ministries linked to military industry periodically transmit to the VIMI the results recorded in the exploitation of documents and samples coming from the West.

The technical center annually prepares a "plan for the verification of work," in collaboration with the central STS organization. This is done by each of the 12 ministries working within the framework of military industry. Every month each STS sends the technical center an overall view and analysis of the work done by the enterprise it controls.

The Military Industrial Commission of the USSR seeks to stimulate implementation of the programs and to fill in the gaps. It tries to determine the sectors in which Soviet science and technology have the greatest need for support by Western knowledge. With this purpose in mind it makes "operational decisions" that are submitted to the "college" of one or several of the ministries concerned.

The preparation of a priority list of needs comes under the principal technical directorate of each of the ministries, on the basis of recommendations made by the "college." All areas of science and technology are subject to classification. The "principal objectives" have an essentially military orientation, compared with the simple "objectives" which are generally civilian. They are prepared in the form of lists which are sent to "acquisition departments" after being refined by the Military Industrial Committee (VPK).

The question is often asked why the Soviets undertake a large-scale, systematic collection of openly available documents (prospectuses, technical documents, or samples). The answer now is known: the Soviets identify and locate innovations and advanced techniques by this means. The indications picked up in this way will thus make it possible to prepare their "research plans." These documents provide the nomenclature of equipment, materials, and products with a look at the companies that manufacture them and the locations where they are available. They are prepared by the central organization of the special technical services on the basis of the "principal objectives" and are sent for collection to the agencies best placed to obtain the "special information" sought.

These "research plans" contain a concrete and precise mission for the acquisition of "provisions," generally through "special channels." Each of the five "acquisition departments" in effect has a network of agents in place in various "Residencies" established in Western countries, officers working under official cover (trade delegations, embassies, the UN, and UNESCO), and "operational collaborators."

The "Residencies" then receive their "research plans" in the form of memoranda and are charged with their implementation.

Methods and Means

To gain access to Western scientific and technical and intelligence, the Soviets use three principal means:

-- Legal means: trade, scientific exchanges, lectures, publications, etc.

-- Illegal means: illegal trade or bypassing an embargo by a third country, the use of civilian technologies for military purposes, contrary to contractual agreements, etc.

-- Clandestine operations: with the aid of agents or by technical means of interception.

For the Soviet Union legal means are the simplest way to acquire technology. This explains why the Soviet Union orders vast quantities of various materials. Conferences and scientific exchanges are also very much used. Thousands of Soviet experts -- 10 times as numerous as their Western opposite numbers visiting the USSR -- are sent abroad each year. They travel the world in search of intelligence, samples, and documentation dealing with the advanced techniques of Western countries.

Most Soviet scientists coming to study in the West are highly qualified. Trade fairs and expositions are also regularly scrutinized. The purpose is evidently to collect the maximum amount of technological intelligence and the means used vary infinitely.

It is possible to collect openly-available documentation at scientific (congresses, symposiums) and commercial (expositions, visits) displays. It is also possible to identify targets that will later be exploited. Elsewhere, scientific literature is the object of a massive exploitation effort which initially does not involve selection.

The illegal means used vary greatly. To bypass existing Western regulations, the Soviets simply use their own commercial structures, but they also can use satellite country trade organisms. They can also make use of foreign agents, cover companies, and legal companies operating for profit. The latter, for example, can engage in irregularities, apply false labels to shipping containers, or export goods without a proper license.

Technologies particularly sought include those concerning semi-conductors, printed circuits, micro-terminal strips [micro-plaquettes], computers in general, telecommunications, telemetry (for navigation and communications), and aeronautics as a whole.

It is very difficult to fight against this illegal form of trade. Furthermore, the assistance of the Soviet satellite countries is not negligible, and close collaboration -- involving a division of capabilities and areas of competence of each -- exists between the Soviets and similar services in these other countries. In this connection five or six Soviet counselors are permanently assigned to the satellite intelligence services.

Through classic forms of espionage the Soviets naturally obtain substantial quantities of scientific and technical intelligence, thanks to their networks of agents residing overseas. These clandestine means are the "special channels" mentioned above. This type of activity is a specific aspect of the work of the intelligence servies, as are the technical intercepts we will describe briefly under the heading of electronic espionage.

The payment of agents and the purchase -- often at high cost -- of "special information provisions" require a very large financial effort. Each of the ministries linked to military industry has special funds provided by the Military Industrial Committee (VPK). Also available is a special fund in foreign exchange. Organizations contributing to these funds are: the GKNT, Directorate T of the KGB's 1st Principal Directorate, the Institute for Research on "Medical Statistics," and the Scientific and Technical Council of the USSR's Ministry of Defense.

To improve cooperation between ministries linked to military industry and intelligence collection agencies, frequent meetings are held, bringing together the directors of STS units, research institutes, and units of the "acquisition departments."

Three observations may be made:

-- The technological effort undertaken by the Soviets is not new; it goes back to the time of the communist revolution in Russia and flourished during World War II and even afterwards; however, it is now more sophisticated and diversified.

-- This effort has intensified and will continue to grow in the future; regarding the KGB, the priority objective will depend on time and place; however, the search for technological intelligence will always occupy an important place in the mission of the collection agencies.

-- The intelligence services of the satellite countries play an important role, and their overall activity is fully centralized and coordinated in the framework of the Soviet system.

A vacuum cleaner provides a good comparison with what centralized planning can do when applied to the collection of scientific, technical, and technological intelligence. This system is very efficient. In fact, we may be struck by the great flexibility of the structures involved. Several units can work together for a maximum return and adapt themselves rapidly to new foreign techniques or technologies. Engineers of the Soviet arms industry know very will how to profit from Western acquisitions. Above all, in many cases, they go beyond that point.

Evaluation of the results obtained by the Soviets in the collection of scientific, technical, and technological intelligence naturally cannot be done directly and precisely. However, it is a fact that, in addition to savings made in scientific research, development activity, and technological applications in the defense field, intelligence collected by the Soviets in the West has helped to provide the Soviet Government with an overall estimate of the state and technical level of Western military arms and equipment. The Soviets have also obtained valuable indications on directions being followed in the future development of advanced weapons systems, the possibilities, and the mobilization capabilities of the West.

As has been demonstrated, nearly all the documentation collected by the USSR to aid its defense and all the projects related to this has been accomplished essentially by clandestine means. It should be understood that whatever documentation is collected it has substantial value in the eyes of Soviet experts, and the means used to obtain it -- whether overt, clandestine, legal, or illegal -- are of little importance.

For a long time it has been known that Western countries, through credits extended to the Soviets in the trade framework, in fact subsidize its system of power. No doubt the credits obtained are not directly earmarked for the military budget, but they end up helping to strengthen its military-industrial complex. This is true to such an extent that, it is said, "The West finances two military budgets: their own and that of their adversary." In fact, the situation is even more absurd. Not content with financing the Soviet military budget, the West also allows their adversary to have access to their own knowledge, their techniques, and their most modern means of defense. Through espionage the Soviets often find in Western military developments basic ideas for their own projects or research programs. They readjust and correct their own work in the light of foreign experience. At times they even cancel comparatively more expensive programs or, in certain cases -- thanks to Western loans -- avoid the research phase, thus dispensing with this kind of work. Generally, they increase the returns from their military industry and the reliability of their arms and equipment, expanding their production for good measure.

One is forced to note that the Soviets, by a systematic combing of Western high technology sectors, have learned how to appropriate a number of elements critical or potentially critical to the defense of the Free World. This significantly erodes the superiority of the West over the East and affects our own security very unfavorably.

The 11th State Plan (1981-85) gives particular priority to advanced technology. However, the essential novelty in this objective rests, in fact, in the application of large-scale collaboration between research and industry. As Brezhnev and Ogarkov have said and written, for Soviet military industry it is a matter of not missing the train of innovation. In this respect, general mobilization has been proclaimed.

Three conclusions can be drawn from the foregoing analysis:

(1) The preceding estimates of the scientific, technical, and technological level attained by the USSR, both in the military and the civilian sector, should be seen as reflecting a noticeable increase, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

(2) The results and successes by the Soviet Union in its intelligence collection operations, both clandestine and overt, have made it possible for the Soviets to avoid having to finance much of their research activity themselves. In this way they have been able to free additional funds for offensive and defensive military programs.

(3) This range of hostile activities calls for the closest kind of collaboration at European and Western levels. It requires the development of a whole complex of new defensive measures aimed at enclosing East-West exchanges, particularly those in the trade, scientific, and technological areas, in a more selective if not more restrictive framework.